THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE PH.D. DEGREE

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF POONA

(Faculty of Arts)

MIRZĀ 'ABDUL QĀDIR 'BEDIL'
HIS LIFE AND WORKS
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS
MASNAWI NUSKHA-E-' IRFĀN

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1968

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Persian literature produced in India during the Moghal regime is of very high order. This period may compare favourably with any rich period in the literary history of Persian, but it is surprising that the Persian writers and critics and renowned European orientalists do not seem to approve of it. However, India produced a number of first class poets most of whom would easily claim superiority over some of the poets of Persia. Shibli's remark that 'Ālamgir's piety and austerity put out the lamp of (Persian) poetry may be true of the poetry at the Court of the Emperor, but may not be accepted in toto, because Persian poetry flourished outside the Court of Delhi and was much appreciated by the general public. There were centres of cultures like Lahore Patna, Allahabad and Sarhind etc. The conclusion we have drawn seems to be true since the number of Persian poets produced during 'Ālamgir's reign and the later period is greater than it was ever before. Among these reigns, Ghani Kāshmīrī, Nāṣir 'Ali and Bedil are regarded as master-poets, and they were the pioneers of delicacies of thought, subtle imagination and philosophical hair-splitting.

Bedil was born at a time when the artistic and architectural tastes of the Muslims in India had reached their high-water mark. Bedil had the proud privilege of living

through the reigns of Shāhjahān, Aurangzeb, Shāh Ālam, Bahādur Shāh, Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukhsiyar. By dint of his talent and rich contribution of Persian literature, Bedil occupies a high place both among his contemporaries as well as earlier masters.

Bedil has enjoyed, and still enjoys, in India and abroad a wide reputation as a great poet-philosopher. His works Chahār 'Unşur, Ruq'āt are the best specimens of ornate and florid Persian prose, while his Masnawis are the best representatives of his infinite variety of style. To the best of my knowledge, no writer has so far attempted to give a coherent and detailed account of Bedil's life and form a critical estimate of his Masnawis especially the 'Irfān whose composition, according to Bedil, took nearly thirty years. Fortunately, I secured a manuscript copy of the 'Irfān, which was scribed in Delhi in 1128 A.H. i.e. about five or six years before the death of the poet. It contains title headings in red ink forming a poem, which is not to be found in the Kulliyāt of Bedil published by the Maṭba-'e- Ṣafdari, Bombay, in 1881 A.D. Many corrections made on the margins of the MS. seem to be written in Bedil's own hand, since it appears that not only the wrongly scribed couplets are corrected but a few fresh couplets are added here and there. This is generally done by an author himself. This also proves that the MS. in the possession of this writer might have been Bedil's personal copy.

It was at the suggestion of my revered teacher Prof. N.A.Nadvi that I chose the Life and Works of Bedil as my theme for Ph.D. I have made use of all available sources which came to my knowledge and have worked in the Anjuman-e- Islam Research Institute, Bombay, Deccan College Library, Deccan Muslim Institute Library, Wadia College Library, Poona, and Dr.'Abdul Haq's private library. I had to depend mostly on the Persian biographies which give very inadequate account of the poet's life and throw scanty light on factors shaping the poet's thought and career.

This is an attempt to give a coherent account of the poet's life, and to make a critical estimate of his contribution to Persian literature with special reference to his Masnawi 'Irfān.

The system of transliteration followed in this thesis is the same as that of my teacher the late Khān Bahādur Shaikh A.K. Sarfarāz, followed by him in his Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS. in the Library of the Bombay University. The translations of the couplets are not purely literal; they are rather calculated to communicate Bedil's ideas without violating the English idiom, as far as possible. The dates are given in Hijra and Christian Eras respectively.

In the case of passages quoted from books written in Urdu, the footnote gives the name of the book in Urdu, while

in the body of the thesis, the passages stand translated into English by the present writer.

Photographs of Bedil's portrait as given in the Shē'rul Ajam fil Hind, his tomb built by Khwāja Ḥasan Niẓāmi, and the frontispieces of some of his works, as also of the MS. in the present writer's possession have been inserted in appropriate places.

Although two manuscript copies of the 'Irfān are preserved in the Bankipur Library and the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, Calcutta, the writer of this thesis could not collate his personal MS. with those copies since floods and disturbances prevented him from going and staying there for the work for some time. However, this writer intends to collate all the three MSS. of the 'Irfān at a later date, and publish the result of his labours.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to my revered teacher, colleague and friend Prof.G.D.S.Shaikh, Head of the Urdu and Persian Dept. N.Wadia College, Poona. I must thank also my colleagues and friends Dr.G.V.Bapat and Dr.Abdul Ḥaq from whom I have received great encouragement during the course of my research.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been used:

(I) For letters:

ا	a		ص	ṣ	
			ض	ḍ / z̤	(in Arabic / in Persian and Urdu)
ب	b		ط	ṭ	
پ	p		ظ	ẓ	
ت	t		ع	‘	
ث	(th (in Arabic) / (s̲ (in Persian & urdu)		غ	gh	
ٹ	ṭ		ف	f	
ج	j		ق	q	
چ	ch		ک	k	
ح	ḥ		گ	g	
خ	kh		ل	l	
د	d				
ذ	dh (in Arabic) / z̲ (in Persian & Urdu)		م	m	
			ن	n	
ڈ	ḍ		و	w	
ر	r		ھ / ہ	h	
ز	z		ی	i (Ma'ruf) / e (Majhul)	
ژ	zh				
س	s				
ش	sh		ء	’	

اَی ay

اَو au, (aw)

بھ bh

پھ ph

تھ th

ٹھ ṭh

جھ jh

چھ chh

دھ dh

ڈھ ḍh

کھ kh

گھ gh

(II) For vowel signs:

Short vowels -- a, i, u.

Long vowels -- ā, ī, ū.

Diphthongs in accordance with the pronunciation

(III) No attempt has been made to transliterate well known words like Urdu, Islam, etc.

(iv) In old MSS. in which ب، ج & ک are not distinguished from پ، چ & گ; but in transliteration their actual current pronunciation is given.

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF BEDIL

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE AGE:-

Mirzā Bedil was born at a time when the artistic and architectural tastes of the Muslims in India had reached their high-water mark. Ten years before Bedil's birth the Peacock Throne had been made. The Taj Mahal was completed in 1053 A.H. i.e. a year before Bedil's birth. Taking into account the years in which other magnificent buildings came into being, it becomes evident that Bedil's birth took place during the time when the chip-axe of the architect was carving marble to bring out its hidden beauty with artistic strokes.

Shāhjahān's Court was known for its pomp and grandeur. He had decorated it with rare specimens and models of the fine arts, among which the Peacock Throne enjoyed great distinction and prominence. During his reign the internal security of the Empire was not much disturbed, and the Moghal army once again was busy with the expansion of the dominion. Shāhjahān had to interfere in the politics of the Deccan. In 1636 A.D. he captured Ahmednagar which, after the death of Malik 'Amber, was subjected to disunity, chaos and disorder.

The Portuguese, who had been permitted to settle at Hooghly with privileges for trade, began to abuse their position.[1] In 1631 A.D. Shāhjahān gave orders to the governors of Bengal to drive them out. Hooghly was captured in 1632 A.D. Many Portuguese were most brutally murdered.[2]

Shāhjahān resolved upon pursuing a vigorous policy regarding the Deccan Sultāns. Shāhjahān proceeded to the Deccan himself, made treaties with the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda. Both the 'Ādil Shāhi and Quṭub Shāhi rulers recognised the Emperor's suzerainty. Peace lasted in the Deccan upto 1653 A.D. During this year Aurangzeb was appointed the governor of the Deccan once again. He followed an aggressive policy.

The Moghals, however, annexed some territory, realised the arrears of tribute and gained the services of Mir Jumla, who was a powerful official of Golconda.

[3]Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh died in 1656 A.D. and was succeeded by his young son 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh, the II. There was disorder in the Bijapur state again. Aurangzeb captured Bidar and Kaliani with the assistance of Mir Jumla and Shāistah Khān

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1. A Short History of the Indian People, p. 254.
2. Tārikh-e- Hind, p. 234.
3. Nuṣrati, p. 7.

and the Bijapuris were defeated. Meanwhile, Shāhjahān again interfered, and a treaty by which the Moghals gained many fortresses and a large indemnity brought the war to a close. Besides, Aurangzeb had to return to the North when he learnt about the illness of Shāhjahān.

Shāhjahān was very ambitious and cherished the desire to extend his empire. In 1645 A.D. disputes broke out in the royal family of Balkh and Shāhjahān considered it a favourable opportunity of conquering his ancestral territory. In 1646 A.D. an army was sent to Balkh under Murād. Aurangzeb was then appointed Governor. He fought against the Uzbegs valiantly, but he found it impossible to hold the territory and had to evacuate Balkh in 1647 A.D.

In 1658 A.D. Shāhjahān fell seriously ill, and the question of succession assumed immediate importance. On receiving the news of their father's illness, all the four sons Dārā, Shujā', Aurangzeb and Murād strove to achieve their aims. Shāhjahān alone was responsible for this dispute since he had divided his Empire among the four princes.[1] Dara was with his father in Delhi and was nominated by Shāhjahān as his successor. Shujā' was the subedar of Bengal, Aurangzeb was the governor of the Deccan and Murād was the ruler of Gujarat. Aurangzeb made alliance with Murād and Shujā' and all of them marched with their armies towards the

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1. A Short History of the Indian People, p. 260.

capital. The root-cause of the conflict was that every one of them wanted to obtain the throne for himself and Dārā was envied by all of them. Hence a war among themselves was indispensable. Jai Singh was despatched to oppose the advance of Shujā' and Jaswant Singh that of Murād and Aurangzeb. Jai Singh defeated Shujā' near Patna and forced him into Bihar. Jaswant encountered Murād and Aurangzeb at Dharmat. But Jaswant was routed on account of the treachery of some of his officers and he escaped to Jodhpur.

Dārā was completely defeated, after a fierce battle and fled from the battle-field to Delhi.

Aurangzeb entered Agra, placed Shāhjahān under restraint and chased Dārā. After reaching Mathura, Aurangzeb doubted the intention and integrity of Murād. He, therefore, took him prisoner and placed him in prison at Gawalior. He was later put to death. Aurangzeb now pursued Dārā who, at his approach, fled from Delhi to the Punjab, then to Sindh and lastly to Gujarat and Rajputana. He resisted Aurangzeb's army at Ajmer, but lost the battle again.

Dārā was at last captured and handed over to Aurangzeb. He was brought to Delhi, and after having been paraded through the streets disgracefully, was executed.

When Aurangzeb assumed the Imperial authority Shujā' gathered his forces and proceeded to Allahabad. A battle

took place at Khajwah to the complete victory of Aurangzeb. Shujā' was pursued and, after a great deal of fighting, was driven out of Bengal. He took refuge in Arakan where he was assassinated.[1]

Aurangzeb thus overcame all his rivals and held a grand coronation ceremony in 1659 A.D. Shāhjahān remained in confinement in the fort of Agra until he died in 1666 A.D. A hundred and twenty-five years had passed since the Moghals came to India. During this period, the boundaries of the Moghal Empire had touched the Himalayas in the North, Kabul in the West, Assam in the East, and in the South, the province of Ahmednagar was it's last boundary. Treaties had been effected with the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda and the Rajputs were faithful allies of the Moghals. The Moghal power had reached the pinnacle of glory and India appeared peaceful and prosperous. At this time Aurangzeb ascended the throne.

Aurangzeb enjoyed little peace on coming to the throne. The first half of his reign was spent largely in suppressing the disturbances caused by the lawless outbreaks of the Zamindars and tribal chiefs, the revolts of the Princes of the Royal family and the risings of the Hindus in the Deccan and those of other religious sects. The work of extending the frontiers of the empire was also continued. Among the most serious outbreaks were those in the provinces of Agra, Oudh

and Allāhabād. In 1667 A.D. the Moghals captured Chittagong and put an end to the piracy in Eastern Bengal.

The Pathan clans of the North-west frontier were a cause of trouble to the Moghal emperors since Akbar's days. They rebelled and plundered caravans passing from India to Kabul, and cut off Imperial garrisons.

Aurangzeb had to undertake expeditions to put down their lawlessness. The Moghal armies[1] were engaged in fighting the Yūsuf Zai and Āfridi tribes from 1667 A.D. to 1679 A.D. At last, success was achieved partly by force, but chiefly by paying subsidies and setting clan against clan. The frontier wars produced many harmful effects. They made it impossible to pursue a vigorous policy in the Deccan. Thus Shivaji strengthened his position before the Moghals undertook a serious campaign against the Marathas.

In the province of Agra the Jāts,[2] who had recently settled in and around Mathura, showed a most refractory spirit in paying the land revenue. Led by Gokala they defied the Moghals for ten years and murdered the Faujdār of Mathura in 1669 A.D. Then, at last, the imperial forces were sent to punish them under the command of Moghal and Rajput officers and Aurangzeb himself had to march to the disaffected area.

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1. A Short History of the Indian People, p. 267.
2. ibid, p. 265.

The rebels were defeated and exemplary punishments were inflicted upon them. It is worth noting here that[1] it was during the uprising of the Jāts that Bedil, along with his family, was forced to leave Mathura for Delhi. It was during the reign of Shāhjahān that the Sikhs had started making trouble for the Moghals, and three battles had been fought between the Imperial forces and those of Guru Hargovind in 1628, 1631 and 1634 A.D. By the middle of the 17th century A.D. the Sikhs had become a political organisation. The Gurus had hereditary rulers and had assumed royal prerogatives.

A war broke out between the Rana of Udaipur and the Empire. During the course of the war the Rajputs succeeded in winning over Prince Akbar, the young son of Aurangzeb, and placed Aurangzeb in a difficult position, but ultimately the Rajputs were defeated and the war was brought to a close in 1681 A.D.

Aurangzeb's reign may be divided into two periods each of twenty-five years. During the first period the centre of his activities was Northern India, and then he turned to the South. Let us now survey the important events of the second part. It includes the Maratha War, and the conquest of Golconda and Bijapur. During the Bahmani rule the Maratha chiefs had established small independent states. In the

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1. Urdu Karachi, July / Oct. 1958, pp.293-94.

fifteenth century A.D. the Bahmani Kingdom was divided into five different Islamic States:

1. Niẓāmshāhi of Ahmednagar.
2. 'Ādilshāhi of Bijapur.
3. Quṭubshāhi of Goleonda.
4. Ḥurid Shāhi of Bidar.
5. 'Imād Shāhi of Berar

In the history of these States the Marathas played an important role. In the sixteenth century the Moghals interfered with the politics of the Deccan, and in the seventeenth century we find the Marathas fighting against the Moghal emperors. Their rising for power was not accidental, but was due to the reaction of forces which were at work over a long time.

Under the influence of Islam some Hindu reformers resolved to reform their religion and society. The centre of their activities was Pandharpur in Maharashtra, where they assembled every year for a religious festival (Yātrā). This gradually brought about religious and social unity amongst them. During the first quarter of seventeenth century they secured religious, social and linguistic unity and acquired skill in the administrative affairs also, but politically they were still divided.

The political conditions in the Deccan proved favourable to them to achieve this object too. The five

Islamic states in the Deccan were inimical with one another from the very beginning. The wars between the Moghals and the Islamic states in the Deccan favoured the Marathas who could establish their independent empire by taking advantage of the disunity between the Islamic Powers.

After the death of Aurangzeb his son Bahādur Shāh defeated all his brothers and became the Emperor. During his short reign he had to fight the Rajput states of Mewar, Marwar, and Amber. The Rajput troubles were scarcely over when the Emperor had to face the rising of the Sikhs. Towards the Marathas the Emperor employed a policy which secured the empire from their depredations during his reign.

Bahādur Shāh died in 1712 A.D. and the usual contest for the empire began among his sons. The eldest, Jahāndār Shāh, defeated his brothers and ascended the throne. He was a worthless ruler and was interested in sensual pleasures and shameless revelry. The nobles too followed his example, and disorder spread in the empire.

Farrukhsiyar who was in charge of Bengal during Bahādur Shāh's reign proclaimed himself emperor at Patna after the death of his father, 'Aẓimush-Shān. 'Abdullāh Khān and his brother, Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, the leaders of Bārha Sayeds, were then deputy governors of Allahabad and Patna. They espoused the cause of Farrukhsiyar. The forces of Jahāndār were defeated at Khajwa and Agra, and Jahāndār Shāh fled to Delhi, but his chief ministers deserted him and he was put to death in 1713 A.D.

Farrukhsiyar now became the Emperor. 'Abdullāh was appointed Chief Minister and Husain 'Ali, Commander-in-Chief of the army. Chin Qilich Khān Nizāmul-Mulk was placed in the supreme control of the Deccan, with Aurangabad as his headquarters.

Farrukhsiyar's reign lasted from 1713 A.D. to 1719 A.D. It was disturbed by the risings of the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats. The Jats who lived in the country between Delhi and Agra had given a lot of trouble during Aurangzeb's reign also.

Farrukhsiyar had gained his throne with the help of the Sayed brothers. But soon after, quarrels broke out between them and the Emperor. The Court mainly consisted of the Turanis and the Hindustanis. Open quarrels broke out between the two groups. The Turanis were defeated in the first quarrel and Nizāmul-Mulk, their leader, was deprived of his governorship of the Deccan, and Husain 'Ali was appointed in his place. But Farrukhsiyar was not reconciled to the Sayed brothers, and so he began to plot against them. Husain 'Ali Khān sensing trouble and danger ahead marched from the Deccan to Delhi, accompained by the Maratha forces. Before he reached Delhi most of the nobles turned against the emperor because of his weakness. The Sayed brothers then deposed Farrukhsiyar and raised Rafi-'ud-Darjāt, a brother of Jahāndār Shāh, to the throne, and put Farrukhsiyar to death. Rafi-'ud-Darjat's reign lasted a few months. Then

his brother, Rafi-'ud-Daula, was raised to the throne. But he, too, ruled for a short time only. Then Muḥammad Shāh, a grandson of Bahādur Shāh, was made Emperor in 1719 A.D. During these short reigns the Marathas obtained the Imperial grant for the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi[1] in the Deccan.

The ascendancy of the Sayed brothers was resented by other nobles. Niẓāmul-Mulk who had mean-while been appointed the governor of Malwa, rushed to the Deccan and occupied Asirgarh, Burhanpur and Aurangabad. The Sayed brothers were alarmed. Ḥusain 'Ali Khān marched towards the Deccan with the Emperor. On the march a Moghal Officer murdered Ḥusain 'Ali at Torah and the Emperor returned to Agra. 'Abdullāh, who offered resistance, was overpowered and put to death in 1720 A.D.

On the fall[2] of the Sayeds of Bārha, Niẓāmul Mulk became the Chief Minister. He desired to reform the administration, but the King was, frivolous and under the influence of worthless men, and all efforts of the Niẓām proved futile. The Niẓām then became disgusted and left Delhi.

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1. "Outside his kingdom Shivaji regarded the neighbouring country (Mughlai) as subject to Mulkgiri or plunder and ransom. If these regions desired to save themselves from his raids, they had to pay Chauth (one-fourth of the revenue paid by the Jagirdars to the state) and Sardeshmukhi (one-tenth of the rent paid by the peasants." (A Short History of Indian People, p. 286).

2. A Short History of the Indian People, p. 302.

SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE AGE:-

Shāhjahān's reign was a peaceful and prosperous one. His magnificent tastes brought the working classes good wages for a number of years. But towards the close of his reign, the condition of the people became worse. The farmers were badly treated by the governors, and arts and crafts were in a state of decline. The highways[1] were unsafe in certain parts of the country.

During Aurangzeb's reign the condition of the people steadily declined. Sujān Rāi Bhandāri[2] paints a rosy picture of the condition of the empire, but his statement is in conflict with that of European travellers.

Society had greatly deteriorated under Aurangzeb. The Moghal aristocracy had lost its moral stamina. The Hindus were lifted up by a new religious fervour, while the Muslims gathered at the tombs of the saints and prayed. In short, the Society under Imperial control was in a process of dissolution and its decrepit character was clearly revealed during the invasions of Nādir Shāh, Ahmed Shāh Abdāli and the Marathas. Perpetual wars during Aurangzeb's reign caused much distress to both, the government and the people. Cultivation was neglected and thousands of people were reduced to a

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1. Travels, I, p.46.
2. Khulāsatut-Tawārikh, p.25.

state of misery. The bankruptcy and decline of the administration at the time of Aurangzeb spelt the ruin of arts and crafts and agriculture. Public peace and security were disturbed by wars and rebellions and highways were extremely dangerous because of the activities of the Thugs and other marauders. Depression in trade was most severe in the Deccan. Village industries practically died out, and the industrial classes suffered miserably. Prof. Sarkār says, "Thus ensured a great economic impoverishment of India .. .. not only a decrease of the 'National stock', but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilization....."[1]

LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS:

The Moghal Rulers' policy of tolerance proved favourable to the development of Art and Literature. Shāhjahān kept up the traditions of his ancestors. He extended his patronage to men of letters.

Dārā Shikoh tried to bridge the gulf between the warring creeds. He caused the Upanishads, the Bhagawat Gitā and the Yōga Vāsistha to be translated into Persian, and engaged himself in the compilation of a number of works. Aurangzeb too was an accurate scholar, proficient in theology and

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1. History of Aurangzeb, V, p.445.

Islamic jurisprudence. It was at his command that the Fatāwā-e-'Ālamgiri was compiled. He disliked poetry and was opposed to the writing of any historical works on his reign. Muntakhab-ul- Lubāb of Muhammad Hāshim (Khwāfi Khān), dealing with the history of Aurangzeb's reign was written in secrecy. Other well-known histories of this period are the 'Ālamgirnāma, the Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri, the Khulāsatut-Tawārikh, and the works of Bhimsen and Ishwar Dās. The Ruq'āt-e-'Ālamgiri is a collection of Aurangzeb's letters, which shows his command over simple and elegant Persian. Mumtāz Mahal, Jahānārā Begum and Zebunnisā were all accomplished ladies and took keen interest in Art and Literature. Zebunnisā was a gifted poetess, and well-versed in Arabic and Persian. The Diwān-e-Makhfi is a noble monument of Zebunnisa's genius. (see Chapter IV). The successors of Kesava Dās, Senāpati, and the Tripāthi brothers flourished in the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb; but Hindi poetry was on the decline during the reign of Aurangzeb. Court patronage was not entirely withdrawn but the era of great poets was certainly closed. The dissolution of the Moghal empire had an adverse effect on the Fine Arts, and Hindi literature, like others, suffered a set-back. One does not find much Urdu poetry produced during this period. Wali of Aurangabad, who visited Delhi twice, influenced Urdu poetry of this time. His Diwān aroused great interest in the Moghal capital since he systematised the arrangement of Urdu poetic compositions by writing them in the alphabetical order of the Radifs.

Among the bardic poets[1] of the Seventeenth century A.D., Bhushan who extolled the deeds of Shivaji, and among sentimental and artistic poets Kesava (1555 A.D. - 1617 A.D.) Behāri Lāl (1603 A.D. -'63 A.D.), and Deva (1673 A.D. - 1745 A.D.) and Rukhshan or Raskhan excel all others.

Hindi poets so far enjoyed the patronage of the royal court, but Aurangzeb's indifference changed the general trends in Hindi poetry entirely. It lost its naturalness and all the emphasis was laid on its external form and beauties.

Bengali poetry greatly flourished in this period and its greatest writers in the seventeenth century were Kāshirām[2] and Mukund Ram whose poems Chandi and Srimanta Saudāgar are admirable, and Alāol (علاؤل), the Muslim poet, who translated the Padmavat of Malik Muhammad Jā'isi into Bengali and wrote some other works also.

The great Marathi poets were the saints Rāmdās (1608 - 81 A.D.) who was the preceptor of Shivaji and the author of Dāsbodh, and Tukārama (1608 - 49 A.D.) the singer of his Abhangas (hymns).

The most noted poet of Gujarati was Premanand (1636 A.D. - 1734 A.D.), who was the maker of modern Gujarati Literature.

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1. A Short History of the Indian People, pp. 372 & 370.
2. ibid, p. 372, & Tārikh-e-Hind, p. 305.

Shibli's remark[1] that 'Ālamgir's piety and austerity put out the lamp of (Persian) poetry may be true of the poetry at the Court, but may not be accepted in toto because Persian poetry flourished outside the precincts of the Court of Delhi and was much appreciated by the general public. Further, there were centres of culture like Lahore, Patna etc. disseminating Persian Literature, and poets had made them their home. The conclusion which we have indicated above seems to be true since the number of Persian poets produced during 'Ālamgir's reign and the later period is greater than ever. Among these Ghani Kashmiri, Nāṣir 'Ali and Bedil are regarded as master-poets.[2] In addition to these, Qāsim Diwānah Mashhadi, Chandrabhān Brahman, Sarmad, Sarkhush, Ghanimat Kunjāhi etc. were popular poets who expressed the current trends and movements in their poetry. In the course of time, the mental horizon grew wider and wider, and instead of the description of mere love-affairs, poetry became the melting-pot of philosophy, Ṣufism and Love. It was popularised by the end of 1100 A.H. and became a fashion of the day. Ṣufistic thoughts dominated literature.

Ghani, Nāṣir 'Ali and Bedil were the pioneers of delicacies of thought, subtle imagination and philosophical hair-splitting.

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1. She'rul 'Ajam, Part III, p. 190.
2. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, pp. 37-9.

Outside India Persian poetry did not flourish much because it did not have a proper environment. For example, Safawid Kings ruled in Persia during the reign of 'Alamgir; Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafwi, the II was succeeded by Shāh Sulaimān and Shāh Ḥusain. They all were Shi'as and their patronage of literature was limited, due to their faith. Their age produced no prominent poets except Shaukat Bukhāri and Ẓāhir Qaswini, although Nāṣiḥ Tirmisi, Rafi' Qaswini, Fayyāḍ Lāhiji, 'Ali Raẓā Tajalli, Ḥāqim Mashhadi, Mukhliṣ Kāshāni and Agar Shirāzi etc. may be mentioned as the poets of Persia.[1]

RELIGION:-

There was a great religious stir during Bedil's times. Many religions existed in India in this age. The most widely prevalent were of course Hinduism and Islam. Pandits and Maulvis adhered rigidly to their sacred scriptures. Both among the Hindus and Muslims there were many orders established by saintly preceptors. The heads of these orders ministered to the needs of their disciples. Among the Muslims the most widespread order was the Chishtiya, which was founded by Khwāja Muínuddin Chishti. It had many branches like the Niẓāmiya. The other orders were the Naqshbandiya, the Qādiriya, the Suhrāwardiya, and the Shaṭṭāriya.

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1. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, pp. 47-8.

Tukā Rām who was born about 1600 A.D. was the leading Hindu saint of the time. His love for God knew no bounds, and religion had no other meaning for him. His Abhangs or hymns elevating the soul were sung all over Mahārāshtra and gave solace to the distressed people. Rām Dās, the spiritual guide of Shivaji influenced profoundly the lives of the people of Mahārāshtra. He was a Vedantist. Salvation according to him is to be found in Rām alone, and purity in thought and deed is a sure passport to heavenly bliss.

عالم ہمہ افسانۂ ما دارد و ما ہیچ

CHAPTER II

MIRZĀ 'ABDUL QĀDIR 'BEDIL' ALIAS SA'ĪD-E-GILĀNI*

Bedil's father's name was Mirzā 'Abdul Khāliq; he was a soldier by profession and led a happy life. 'Abdul Khāliq belonged to a well-known Turkish tribe called Barlās.[1] He was a native of Turkey and was of Turān origin. At an early age Bedil's father renounced the world and took to the Sufistic way of life. Towards the close of his life his son Bedil was born in the reign of Shāhjahān at 'Aẓimābād Patna in 1054/1644. Since 'Abdul Khāliq belonged to Qādriah Sect, and enjoyed the spiritual blessing of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilāni he named his son as 'Abdul Qādir.[2]

Biographers differ from one another as regards the birth-place of Bedil, as well as the exact date of his birth.

The most surprising of all, is the statement of Mir[3] Qudratullāh Qāsim who mentions Bukhārā as Bedil's birth

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* Cat. of MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society, by Ashraf 'Ali. Beale gives Saidāi Gilāni. (An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 344).

1. 'Barlās' is a Chagtai community and in old Turkish it means "a companion." (Raugtu-Ṣafā C/o. Nigāristān-e-Pārs, p.177). Āzād Bilgrāmi has used 'Arlās' in all the three Tagkiras written by him.

2. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 301.

3. Majmu'a-e-Naghz, Vol.1, p.15.

-place, while according to Sayed Sulaimān Nadvi,[1] Bukhārā may be the birth-place of his forefathers but it was certainly not his birth-place.

Ṭāhir Naṣrābādi's[2] remarks that Bedil belonged to Lahore was refuted at that time only by Khushgo in his Safina, but Khushgo's[3] statement that Akbarābād (Agra) was Bedil's native place does not necessarily mean that Bedil was born at Akbarābād. All the same, it is probable that his ancestors might have settled down there after migrating from Turkey.

'Alī Qulī, 'Hidāyat' who compiled his Tagkira Riyāẓ-ul-'Ārifīn in 1260 A.H. calls Bedil 'Dehlavi' ("of Delhi") which is further supported by Dr.Aṣghar[4] 'Alī 'Hikmat. The reason for this is that most of Bedil's life was spent in Delhi.

Such opinions make it quite clear that biographers are at variance with one another in fixing the exact birth-place of Bedil, simply because Bedil stayed at different cities during various phases of his life. That is why every biographer has stated some particular city to be Bedil's birth-place, though their information on the point might have been inexact.

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1. Ma'ārif, Aẓamgarh, Aug. 1946, p.85.
2. Tagkira-e-Naṣrābādi, p. 303.
3. Safina-e-Khushgo, p. 104.
4. Glimpses of Persian Literature, p. 75.

Dr. Iqbāl, while writing about the Turkish poet Taufiq Fitrat who has gone to the extent of using our great poet-thinker, Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir 'Bedil' for purposes of the revolutionary movement against "the Religion", (Islam) calls Bedil 'Akbarābādi.[1] Probably he accepted Khushgo's remark mentioned above as quite correct without going deeper into the matter.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād[2] has given India as the country of Bedil's birth. This implies that Āzād did not exactly know the name of Bedil's place of birth. Āzād's idea is to say that Bedil was not born in any foreign country like Irān, Bukhārā or Turkey; perhaps Āzād himself could not decide this disputable point. He preferred to err on the safer side. By 'Hindustān', possibly Āzād meant 'North India' i.e. Uttar Pradesh or Bihar.

'Ali Sher Qāne'[3] Thattawi calls Patna as Bedil's birth-place and Delhi as his native place where he settled down, while Amir Sher 'Ali Khān Lodi[4] contented himself merely by saying that Bedil belonged to the tribe 'Chaghtāi Barlās and was brought up in India.

Ghulām Hamdāni Muṣḥafi[5] in his Taẕkira 'Iqd-e-Surayyā acknowledged Bedil as 'Aẓimābādi (of 'Aẓimābād). Niyaz

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p.8.
2. Nigāristān-e-Fārs, p.177.
3. Tuḥfatul Kirām, Vol.II, p.21.
4. Mirātul Khayāl, p. 294.
5. 'Iqd-e-Surayyā, p. 16.

Fatehpuri,[1] on the authority of Ḥusain Quli Khān, of 'Aẓimābād has given 'Aẓimābād Patna as Bedil's birth-place, while Dr. Akbar Ḥusain Quraishi[2] writes: "..... ..... his (Bedil's) original native-place was Turān, but he was born at Bukhārā." Dr. Akbar Ḥusain too seems to have referred to Majmu'a-e-Nagha. Both 'Ābid Ḥusain Faridi[3] and Dr. Akhtar Orenwi[4] unanimously agree that Bedil was born at 'Aẓimābād Patna, while Niẓāmi Budauni remarks: "His (Bedil's) native-place was Turān, he was born at Bukhārā and came to India at a very tender age during the reign of Jahāngir."[5] The last sentence, which is misleading, is worth noting. As a matter of fact Jahāngir died in 1627 A.D.[6] while Bedil was born in 1644 A.D. at the time of Shāhjahān.

Sayed Sulaimān Nadvi writes: "Bedil was not born at Akbarābād, since a native-place cannot necessarily be a birth-place also. We on our part deem it correct that the province of Bihar whose capital was and is 'Aẓimābād Patna must have been the birth-place of Bedil."[7] To prove his claim Nadvi quotes Āzād Bilgrāmi who has clarified this point in all the three* Tazkiras compiled by him. Secondly

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1. Nishtar-e-Ishq C/o Majmu'a-e-Istifsar-o-Jawāb, Part I, p.277.
2. Burhān, Delhi, Monthly, Jan, 1963, p.15.
3. An outline History of Persian Literature, p.127.
4. Bihār mein Urdu Zabān-o-Adab kā Irtiqā, p.196.
5. Qāmusul-Mashāhir, Vol.I, p.147.
6. Tārikh-e-Hind, p.243 and Ahle-Hind ki Mukhtasar Tārikh, p.250.
7. Ma'ārif, Azamgarh, Aug. 1946, p.85.

* (1) بیدر بیضا دہلی ، (2) سرو آزاد ص ۱۴۸ ، (3) خزانۂ عامرہ ص ۱۵۲

on the basis of internal evidence Nadvi infers Bihar to be Bedil's birth-place or the place where Bedil spent at least his childhood and prime of youth. 'Abdul Wahhāb, 'Iftikhār' following his teacher Āzād Bilgrāmi, calls Bedil ''Aẓimābādi'.

Muṣḥafi himself states that his Tazkira 'Iqd-e-Surayyā had been compiled sixty-six years after Bedil's death. His statement regarding Bedil's birth-place is likely to have been based on hearsay and, therefore, may be erroneous. However, we have evidence given by Bedil's contemporary Sayed Muḥammad, Āzād Bilgrami's maternal uncle, who was one of Bedil's companions. Sayed Muḥammad has mentioned Bedil to be a poet of Shāhjahānābād which refutes Muṣḥafi's statement. Sayed Muḥammad may have called Bedil Shāhjahānābādi merely because Bedil had settled there. On similar grounds Khushgo calls Bedil 'Akbarābādi, as Bedil stayed there for a long time. As far as his birth-place is concerned the statements of Āzād and Muṣḥafi seem to be quite correct, and it is supported by 'Ibrati* also. But the real difference of opinion exists between Khushgo and Āzād Bilgrāmi. Though both of them lived practically at one and the same time, there was a wide difference between their ages. Khushgo might have been middle-aged and Āzād in his teens when Bedil died. Hence their statements can be harmonised if we accept Khushgo's remark that Akbarābād was Bedil's native-place and Azad's remarks that 'Aẓimābād was Bedil's birth-place.[1]

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1. Ma'ārif Aẓamgarh, Aug. 1946, p.85-7.

* Riyāẓul Afkār C/o. Urdu Adab, Issue No.1,1962, p.6.

The events and incidents narrated in the Chahār 'Unṣur clearly reveal that Bedil had ancestral connection with the province of Bihar. According to the late Sulaimān Nadvi even if we hesitate to call Bedil 'Aẓimābādi', we should not do so in calling him 'Bihāri, as most rustic people of Bihar are named 'Aẓimābādi instead of Bihāri. The story that Bedil belonged to 'Aẓimābād has passed from generation to generation among the nobles. Shad 'Aẓimābādi[2] quotes the authority of aged, and, reliable people that Bedil lived in the lane Chhoti Pattan Debi of 'Aẓimābād Patna, which according to Qāẓi 'Abdul Wadood is not correct.

In his Chahār 'Unṣur Bedil himself mentions Akbarābād twice:

"در بلدۂ اکبرآباد منظورِ ابرارِ امیرِ کامگار کہ بدلیلِ سعادتِ ازلی اوقاتِ گرامی مصروفِ خدمتِ فقراء داشت و در احترامیکہ لائقِ این طائفہ است۔" [3]

"تابستانی در گوشہ از زوایائے اکبرآباد گرمی ہائے صحبتِ تنہایم بساطِ عافیتی پرداختہ بود۔" [4]

But these words of Bedil reveal nothing as regards Bedil's native-place. From the foregoing discussion it would be safe to conclude that the question of determining Bedil's birth-place must remain unsolved until more definite evidence becomes available.

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1. Tārikh-e-Ṣubā-e-Bihār, p.220; and Urdu Adab, Aligarh, 1962, p.5. Issue No.1.
2. Nawā-e-Adab, Oct. 1958, p.9.
3. Chahār 'Unṣur, p.492.
4. ibid, p.549.

The events of Bedil's life form the pivot of his poetry. In the Chahār 'Unṣur he has narrated the tale of his life in the form of different incidents. He had composed a chronogram regarding his own birth as follows:

بسالی که بیدل بملکِ ظهور
ز فیضِ ازل تافت چون آفتاب

بزرگی خبرداد از مولدش
که هم "فیضِ قدس" است و هم "انتخاب" [1]
۱۰۵۴ھ

Really speaking the word " انتخاب " yielding the exact date of Bedil's birth was discovered by Maulānā Qāsim Dervish, a friend of Bedil's father.[2]

Bedil lost his father at the age of five. He has mourned his loss in the following couplets:

خورشید خرامید و فروغی بنظر ماند ـ دریا بکنارِ دگر افتاد و گهر ماند
آتشکده رفت و ز گره ریخت شراری ـ دل آب شد و قطرهٔ خونی ز جگر ماند
آن سایه بگذشت از اثرِ دستِ نوازش ـ این نقشِ قدم داغ شد و خاک بسر ماند [3]

These couplets could not have been composed by Bedil in his boyhood. Of course, he might have done so when he grew up and thought of recording in verse his past experiences of life.

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1. Kulliyāt-e-Safdari : Qit'āt-e-Tārikh, p.51.
2. Safina-e-Khushgo, p.105.
3. Chahār 'Unsur, p.300.

Bedil finished his study of the holy Qurān when he was six years old,[1] which is again a controversial point among his biographers. Khushgo says that he completed his formal reading of the Qurān at the age of five. Niyāz Fatehpuri[2] and Kausar Chāndpuri[3] also support Khushgo. The late Sulaimān Nadvi and Ikrām-ul-Ḥaq, however, differ with these gentlemen and say, on the basis of internal evidence that Bedil learnt the Holy Quran, Persian texts and Arabic grammar by the time he attained the age of ten.[4]

At the age of six he studied the alphabet with his mother who, unfortunately, passed away in that very year.

"درسالِ ششم ازحدعمر ازخدمتِ والدۂ ماجدہ حروفِ تہجی آموخت، و درہمان نزدیکیں آن مریم مکانی نیز رہ نوردِ عالمِ بالاگردید" 5

After the loss of his parents Bedil's uncle Mirzā Qalandar became his guardian and patron, and arranged for his early education; as Bedil says:

"تربیتِ فقیربیدل بعدازرحلتِ والدِ مرحوم تا ادراکِ نشاءِ بلوغ بعہدِ التفاتِ خود داشت" 6

and Khushgo writes:-

"میرزاقلندر برادرِاعیانی مریدعبدالخالق بارِتربیت وپرورش بردوش گرفتہ برتحصیلِ علومِ صرف ونحو رہنمونش شد" 7

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, p.300.
2. Majmu'a-e-Istifsār-o-Jawāb, Part I. p.278.
3. Urdu Adab, Aligarh, Issue No.1, 1962, p.5.
4. Chahār 'Unṣur, pp.300-1.
5. Safina-e-Khushgo, p.105.
6. Chahār 'Unṣur, p.340.
7. Safina-e-Khushgo, p.105.

Bedil's uncle coached him in grammar. Bedil completed 'Kāfia'*, and 'Sharh-e-Mullā Jāmi' on Arabic syntax at the tender age of ten years.[1] Thus he acquired the degree of proficiency in learning which was common among the children of leading Muslim familites.

In short, Bedil's early and formal education was limited to Persian texts and books on Arabic grammar. Whatever he acquired in addition to this was, as he says, the result of the instruction of the "Divine Teacher".

As mentioned above, after the death of Bedil's father his uncle Mirzā Qalandar began to look after him Bedil then was studying in the Madrasa-e-Saif** Khān. One day

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1. Safina-e-Khushgo, p.106.
2. Shā'ir, Monthly, Bombay, April/May 1963, p.10.

* Kausar Chāndpuri writes 'Fiqh' (Urdu Adab, Aligarh, Issue No.1, 1962, p. 5) while Āzād gives 'Shāfia' and Sharh-e-Mullā (Nigāristān-e-Fārs, p.177).

** This Madrasa is known as the Madrasa-e-Saif Khān. Its ruins are still standing and its desolate rooms are occupied by washerman and common Muslims. The building of this Madrasa was last repaired by the late advocate Maulvi Yahyā. The structure resembles the schools of Bukhārā. Hence it is probable that it had been constructed by the Turks of Asia Minor. It cannot be positively said that the Madrasa was founded by Saif Khān, the Governor of Bihar; but it must have been at the peak of its prosperity during the reign of Shāhjahān. (Shā'ir Monthly, April-May 1963, p.10).

Mirzā Qalandar[1] visited this Madrasa; there he found two students in debate; one of them was frustrated because he was losing the argument and the other was triumphant as he was about to gain his point. This incident convinced Mirzā Qalandar that debating is worse than ignorance and that one who is defeated feels humiliated and the other who wins gets conceited. He said to his nephew, " Come on, get up; let's go. What's the use of such education as results in either humiliation or conceit?" On this memorable day, Bedil gave up his studies, joined the company of Dervishes, and took up the study of their poetical works.

Bedil's biographers are agreed that, from a very tender age, Bedil was very intelligent, and had a poetic disposition and aesthetic sense. Bedil started composing verses at an early age i.e., when he was hardly nine years old.[2] He states that he was so impressed and enchanted by the fragrance of cloves, which his handsome class-mate was in the habit of chewing that he composed the following quatrain:-[3]

یارم هرگاه در سخن می آید ـ بوی عجیبش از دهن می آید
این بوی قرنفل ست یا نکهتِ گل ـ یا رائحۂ مشکِ خُتن می آید

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1. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 340.
2. Indo-Iranica, p. 37.
3. i) Safina-e-Khushgo, pp. 106-7.
   ii) Chahār 'Unsur, p. 389 (Nawal Kishore Edition).
   iii) Tazkira-e-Husaini, p.74.

* Niyāz Fatehpuri and Kausar Chāndpuri give بوی عجیبش and بوی عجبی (Majmu'a-e-Istifsār-o-Jawāb, Part I), while Qāzi 'Abdul Wadood gives بوی عجیبش (Mārif, May, 1942, p. 360).

According to Tazkira-e-Husaini,[1] Bedil was twelve years old when the quatrain under reference was composed, while Khushgo writes that Bedil was about 'nine and half years' old:

" در نیمهٔ سال عاشر مکتب از بهار مقدمش رشکِ گلستان وبوستان بود،
یکی از هم سبقانِ نوخط قرنفل زیرِ زبان گذاشتی....."[2]

Bedil himself, narrating this incident,

" آیا میکه اعداد معقولاتِ عمر از پایهٔ نقصان احاد درگذشت و باستکمال
فرصت شماری سال عشر مقارن گشت ..... یکی از طفلانِ همدرس
اکثر اوقات قرنفل زیرِ زبان گذاشتے....."[3]

says that he had just completed his ninth year. Dr. 'Abdul Ghani,[4] therefore, says that the above incident took place when Bedil was ten years old. Internal evidence quoted above sets aside all other dates given by biographers like Mir Husain Dost Sambhali.

The quality of Bedil's maiden quatrain surprised people very much and most of them refused to accept it as a product of the mind of a mere boy like Bedil. The names of these critics and appreciators of Bedil are shrouded in mystery.

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1. Tazkira-e-Husaini, p. 74.
2. Safina-e-Khushgo, pp. 106-7.
3. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 389.
4. Oriental College, Mag. Aug. 1952, p.12.

After this incident Bedil continued composing verses using his natural poetic genius, but destroyed them for fear of critics.[1] He[2] first became a pupil of Maulānā Shaikh Kamāl and adopted the pen-name of 'Ramzi'. Only 'Ibrati[3] gives it as 'Razmi'.

One day, while reading the preface of Sa'di's Gulistān, he came across the following line:[4]

اگر کسی وصفِ او ز من پُرسَد ـ بیدل از بی نشان چه گوید باز

He felt so elated at this that he changed his pen-name 'Ramzi' to 'Bedil' in the hope that, pleased with this homage the Spirit of Sa'di would bless him, and inspire him to elegant poetic composition.

The great personalities that influenced Bedil and the celebrities who trained Bedil's poetic talent include, besides Mirzā Qalandar, the following seven persons:

1. Maulānā Shaikh Kamāl,
2. Shāh Mulūk,
3. Shāh Yakkah Āzād,
4. Shāh Fāzil,
5. Shāh Qāsim Nuwallāhi,
6. Wālah Harwi,
7. Shāh Kābuli.

It would be appropriate briefly to refer to these teachers here:-

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1. Oriental College, Mag. Aug.1952, p.12.
2. Safina-e-Khushgo, p. 107; Nishtar-e-'Ishq (MS), p.204. Cf. Oriental College Mag.Aug. 1952, p.14.
3. Urdu Adab, Issue No.1, 1962, p.6.
4. Same as 2 above.
5. Gulistān-e-Mutarjam, p.5.

1. Mirzā Qalandar: Much has been said about him in the foregoing pages. Bedil cultivated a habit of reading classical works. As per instructions by his uncle Bedil jotted down fine couplets and beautiful and important prose passages and read them out to him every evening. Although Mirzā Qalandar was uneducated, he was sometimes so impressed by Bedil's selection that he started extempore versification.

Once, while he had sore eyes and had bandaged one of them with a yellow rag, someone asked him the reason; he at once retorted:[1]

محرومیٔ دیدارِ تو خون در جگر انداخت
چشم چه کند چشم تو اش از نظر انداخت

On his death Bedil wrote an elegy, and also a chronogram which runs thus:[2]

بگوش هوشمم آخر هاتفی گفت — قلندر یافت وصلِ جاودانی
۱۰۷۶ = ۷۵ + ۱۲۶ + ۴۹۱ + ۳۸۴

2. Maulānā Shaikh Kamāl:[3] He belonged to the Qādriah sect. Both Bedil's father, and Bedil's maternal uncle Mirzā Qalandar, were his followers. Shaikh Kamāl hailed from Rāni Sāgar[4] which, with its lake mentioned by the

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, pp. 344-45.
2. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣa'dari; Qit'āt, p.47.
3. Chahār 'Unṣur (Nawal Kishore Edition), p.301.
4. Hairat Zār, p.52.

poet, still exists and is situated about fifty miles to the west of Patna and three miles from Banāras.[1] This is the place where Bedil's father and uncle were instituted into spiritual matters, and where the enlightenment and development of the mind and heart of Bedil took place. Bedil visited Mīni Nagar often along with his uncle and was blessed with the divine realities imparted by the Shaikh who used to teach relevant holy incantations or give charms to people in distress or pass his breath at them after reciting the incantations.[2] Bedil also learnt these prayers or noted them down on a piece of paper after the meeting.[3]

Gradually, Bedil followed this practice and soon became a competent practitioner of the useful art. On learning that Bedil had cured a certain person of the evil effects of a Genius (Jinn), Shāh Sāheb sent for him and asked him gently, "Which charm did you use, since mere incantations and written charms do not produce such an effect?"[4]

Bedil said, "This is all due to your kindness and blessing." At this the Maulānā was very much pleased, and

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1. Hairat Zār, p. 52.
2. Ibid.
3. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p.123.
4. Bedil, p.18.

presented to Bedil a book in which he had collected wonderful charms, and said by way of prediction: "Your fortune is as powerful as that of Solomon and your breath is effective like that of Jesus. You can successfully utilise any of these charms."

Once when Bedil was on a visit to the village of Arah, now a district in Bihar, he met Shaikh Kamāl, also known as Shāh Kamāl.

According to Khushgo,[1] Shaikh Kamāl was Bedil's first teacher in poetry, a fact which is acknowledged by Bedil also. Probably, Bedil consulted his teacher while changing his pen-name from 'Rasmi' to 'Bedil';

"در ایامیکه قصبهٔ آره اقامت کده سیر اتفاقی بود ادیم افسر زمین بسهیل نقش قدم شهوار ائمهٔ سعادت می اندوخت"[2]
(چهار عنصر ص ۲۱۹)

"از جناب مولانا کمال نامی صاحب کمال استفاده کسب شعر نمود و رمزی تخلص مقرر فرمود" سفینهٔ خوشگو (ص ۱۰۷)

Mirsā Qalandar, along with party of devotees of whom Bedil was one, used to pay visits to Shāh Sāheb;

"خصوص مرزا قلندر که در هر بن موی زبانی داشت مرهون ستائش کمالش و در هر جنبش نفس جانی مصروف تذکرهٔ احوالش ....."[3]

3. Shāh Mulūk:-[4] He was an ascetic (much given to divine meditation) and lived at Sarū-e-Banāras near Rāni Sāgar under the shade of a tree, and did not move about at all;

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1. Safina-e-Khushgo, p.107.
2,3. Chahār 'Unşur, p.319.
4. ibid, pp.306-7 and Bedil, 27.

"مدتی چون سایه به پائی درخت واکشیده بود و سبزه وار مشت خاکی تنیده، نه چون سایه از گرم و سردش خبری و نه چون سبزه از حس و حرکتش اثری ..... [1]"

Devotees from far and wide flocked to him. Bedil also visited him off and on. Shah Saheb usually spoke[1] in enigmatic language, and occasionally spoke some very useful and relevant things.

Shāh Sāheb stayed for weeks together with Mirzā Qalandar during the latter's stay at Rāni Sāgar. Shāh Sāheb was tongue-tied before the public but conversed freely with his select disciples.

One day in a state of ecstasy he was uttering something, and finding Bedil all attention, asked him to take down his utterances. For three days together Bedil was collecting hemistich after hemistich and thus collected forty couplets in Rekhta.* [2] As they contained Vedantic terms Bedil did not include them in his Chahār 'Unṣur. According to Bedil Shah Muluk was reciting innumerable couplets daily (day & night).

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, p.308.
2. Chahār 'Unṣur, p.318 & Bedil, p.31.

* Khwāja 'Ibādullāh says it was Hindi ("Zabān-e-Hindi").

Bedil[1] admits that he owes all his power of expression to Shāh Mulūk. He often sat beside him and listened carefully to Shāh Sāheb's exposition of the couplets.

Shāh Mulūk and Shaikh Kamāl followed different paths. Shaikh Kamāl, teaching the stages of Sulūk* to his disciples, used to remark that the mad naked people with wild dispositions should be avoided, and that they were wrongly considered by public to have realised God. On the contrary Shāh Mulūk claimed that it was blindness in people which prevented them from seeing the Sun in all his glory. Yet whenever Shaikh Kamāl happened to pass by Shāh Mulūk, the latter at once covered his naked body with something and the former quietly passed[2] by:

"بمرقع پیچیدہ ..... ولیعہد دلتنگی غنچہ مقیم پردۂ سکوت گردید"

4. Shāh Yakkah Āzād[3]:- He was a master of inspiration and miracle. Desire to see him attracted Bedil to him since his uncle Mirzā Qalandar who had close contact with Shāh Yakka had once praised him very much in Bedil's presence.

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1. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p.129.
* "Sulūk is the method of spiritual development. The thing has been conceived as a journey or pilgrimage to God. When Sulūk is attained at a certain stage the mystic begins to experience the adumbrations of Asmā'-o-Ṣhuyūn, divine names and phases." (The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawḥīd, p.19).
2&3 Chahār 'Unṣur, pp.309 & 318.

By chance, Shāh Sāheb came to Mirzā Qalandar on a very hot summer's day.[1] Bedil at once took up a fan with which he fanned Shāh Sāheb, who pleased with Bedil's humidity, predicted a bright future for him.

That Bedil contacted Shāh Yakhah for the first time at his uncle Mirzā Qalandar's place is confirmed by Ikrām-ul-Haq.[2]

5. Shāh Fāgil:-[3] He was a sage who had attained an exalted spiritual level; he was expert in the commentary of the Qurān, and the 'Traditions' of the Prophet and very well-versed in metaphysics and rhetorics. Bedil was introduced to him by his uncle; Bedil says:-

"از کیفیت تکلمش نشاء می اندوخت که بهزار دور ساغر گرد تأملش نتوان گردید..."[4]

The intoxication I experienced through his speech can in no way be had, even though the cup be passed round two thousand times.

Subtle points of Sufism were mostly discussed in Shāh Fāgil's chosen 'circle'.[5] Bedil has a very high opinion of his prose and poetry, and regards him as one of his masters.

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1. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 327-28 & Bedil, 32.
2. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p. 129.
3. Chahār 'Unsur, p.328.
4. ibid, p. 330.
5. ibid, pp. 328-33 & Bedil, p.42.

6. Shāh Qāsim Huwallāhi:[1]

Bedil was introduced to him when he, along with his maternal uncle Mirzā Ẓarif, an authority on theology and the 'Traditions' of the Prophet, visited Cuttack, the capital of Orissa for trade purposes.[2] Bedil[3] then was seventeen. Shāh Qāsim[4] was a Quṭb* and great scholar of his time.

Shāh Qāsim illuminated his talk by quoting appropriate couplets and asked Bedil also to read out couplets.[5]

At the instance of Shāh Sāheb, Bedil compiled the annals and sayings of eminent Ṣufis and composed sixty-two couplets on Sufism in his introduction to the work. Shāh Qāsim[6] appreciated these verses immensely and sent the whole work to Shāh Ne'matullāh Ferozpuri after copying it out in his own hand.

Shāh Sāheb[7] died in 1083 A.H. when Bedil was at Akbarābād. On hearing of his death Bedil composed the following chronogram: "زہے تعیینِ ذات" رفت "نام" صفت

۱۲ + ۵۴۰ + ۱۱۰۱ = ۱۶۵۲ — ۵۷۰ = ۱۰۸۲ھ

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1. Chahār 'Unsur, p.345. Also called Shāh Abul Qāsim Tirmizi (Bedil, p.44).
2. Chahār 'Unsur, p.347 & Bedil, p.44.
3. Hairat Zār, p.61.
4. Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, p.15.
5. Kulliyāt-e-Safduri: 1st 'Unsur, p.59.
6, 7. Chahār 'Unsur, pp. 414 & 443.

* "Jili calls the Perfect Man the preserver of the universe, the Quṭb or Pole on which all the spheres of existence revolve. He is the final cause of creation." "The head of the Ṣufi hierarchy." (Studies in Islamic Mysticism, pp. 86 & 194).

Bedil[1] submitted his prose and poetical composition to Shāh Sāheb for correction.

7. Wālah Harwi:-[2] He attended the assembly of Shāh Qāsim Huwallāhi. Bedil called him a poet with a fresh style. Bedil praises him for his dignified prose and elegant thought.

Sarkhush calls him Dervish-e-'Wālah' and adds that he lived in Bengal and was a man devoted to spiritual pursuits. He is the author of the following couplet which can be said to be as precious as one lakh couplets:

آسمان گو خلعتِ منّت مپوشان بر تنم - زانکہ ہمچون نغمہ تاری بس بُوَد پیراہنم[3]

8. Shāh Kābuli:-[4] He was a perfect Ṣufi. Bedil had met him twice or thrice. Bedil in his youth first saw Shāh Kābuli Sāheb in Orissa;[5] but Dr. Abul-Lais[6] remarks that it was at Delhi that Bedil came in contact with one more 'Majgūb' (literally, one completely lost in contemplation of the Self) whose real name nobody knew, but people called

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, pp. 407-8.
2. Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, p.16.
3. Kalemātush-Sho'arā, p.124.
4. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 433.
5. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p.130.
6. Hairat Zār, p.59 and Māh-e-Nau, Istiqlāl Number, 1954, p.20.

him Shāh Kābuli. Since he never talked to any body, his name and other biographical details could not be traced. Some people had seen him at Kābul, so he was known as Kābuli.[1] He could easily digest many seers of eatables when he got them but he was no glutton because he managed to go without food and water for several weeks together when he did not get anything to eat.[2]

In 1076 A.H. when Bedil was conversing with his friends in Delhi, the talk turned on to the Majzubs. By chance Shāh Kābuli appeared there. All stood up respectfully to pay homage to him. He was smilingly looking at Bedil. It was a very lucky accident that put Bedil in touch with Shāh Kābuli, who took him to his usual place and blessed him there. Even after this Shāh Sāheb met Bedil several times at intervals of two or three years in unusual circumstances, and explained to him Sufistic subtleties.[3] Many incidents regarding Shāh Sāheb's inspiration and miracles are narrated by Bedil in his Chahār 'Unṣur:-

Two years after the above incident Bedil's restless nature (wanderlust) brought him to Mathura via Bindrāban when he was suffering from sore-eyes.

There, at the shop of a darner, Shāh Kābuli once again met Bedil and soon disappeared:

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 423.
2. ibid.
3. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p.141.

آن طبیب افسونِ نیرنگی نمایان کرد و رفت
دردِ چشمم را علاج از چشمِ حیران کرد و رفت[1]

(That doctor performed a miracle, and went away. He cured my sore-eyes by just staring at me, and disppeared.).

Bedil wondered why Shāh Kābuli disappeared within minutes every time he appeared before Bedil in spite of the fact that Shāh Sāheb was obviously so kind to him.

After two years Bedil got married and took up his ancestral profession of a soldier, which gave him some peace of mind but he missed very much the freedom of a bachelor's life.[2]

Bedil[3] met Shāh Kābuli for the last time, in Delhi, when Bedil was passing down the bazaar on horse-back at the head of his horsemen.

Shāh Sāheb madly pursued him. Bedil dismounted in a state of rapture (ecstasy) and bowed down before him respectfully. Shāh Kābuli[4] embraced him warmly, took him to a corner of a nearby vacant shop. There he started explaining some important Ṣufistic points while Bedil listened to him very carefully but in a state of great amazement, and when he came to his senses, Shāh Saheb was no longer there.

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, PP. 427-28.
2. ibid, PP. 429-30.
3. ibid, P. 432.
4. Chahār 'Unṣur, P. 432-33.

Th. 2451

Bedil wrote down this incident in his Chahār 'Unṣur after twenty years but says: "I am still feeling intoxicated by the mere thought of that (spiritual) cup."[1]

In short Bedil owes all his training and spiritual development to the company of the Ṣufis and the saints mentioned above.

The most receptive moments of Bedil's youth were spent in such environment as has been mentioned in the foregoing pages.[2] His mind, therefore, became naturally attuned to mystical experiences and invisible things and his poetry was deeply influenced by his peculiar susceptibilities.

When Bedil returned to 'Aẓīmābād Patna in 1075 A.H. after a stay of three years in Orissa his maternal uncle Mirzā Ẓarīf had died. Bedil wrote a fragment containing a chronogram on his death:

نیک فرجام عاقبت محمود

۸۰ + ۳۲۴ + ۵۷۳ + ۹۸ = ۱۰۷۵ ھ

Bedil was now left all alone without any patron or supporter. Mirzā Qalandar also proceeded to Bengal and Bedil found it difficult to maintain himself and his family. Due

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 432-33.
2. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p. 131.
3. Kulliyāte-Ṣafdari, Qiṭ'āt, p. 48.

to sheer poverty he decided to go to Shāhjahānābād following the advice of his friends.[1] At the time of departure he composed the following[2] stanza:—

از ملک بہار سوی دہلی - چون اشک روان شدیم بیکس
ہمدوش شہود فضل بیچون - ہمراہ حضور فیض اقدس
سال تاریخ این عزیمت - در یاب کہ "راہبر خدا بس"
۶۲ + ۶۰۵ + ۴۰۸ = ۱۰۷۵ھ

The mention of his arrival in Delhi in 1076[3] A.H. has already occurred under the account of Shāh Kābuli.

Bedil was only thirteen years old when he joined Shāh Shuja's forces which were then under the Command of Mirzā 'Abdul Laṭif, a relative of Mirzā Qalandar.[4] He thus visited different provinces as a soldier, or vowing to observe strict celibacy went to various places as a Seeker yearning to contact great Ṣufis and gnostics.

In the light of the account of the Chahār 'Unṣur the range of his journey extends between the village Bābā[5] Ḥasan Abdāl near Peshāwar in the North-West and Cuttack in Orisra in the East. At Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl he met a

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1. Nawā-e-Waṭan, p. 70-1 also Maāṣir, No.20, p.38 Sept. 1965.
2. Kulliyāt-e- Ṣafdari, Qiṭāt, p. 51.
3. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 423.
4. ibid, p. 551 & Indo-Iranica, Dec.1963, p.37.
5. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 323.

Hindu jogi who, like him, was a believer in "the Unity of Manifestation".* The jogi accepted the Prophethood of Muḥammad and convinced by the force of Bedil's arguments, embraced Islam.[1]

Among the places Bedil visited besides Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl[2] and Cuttack, are the cities and towns of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and among them figure most prominently Mathura and Bindrāban where Bedil lived for many years. At intervals Bedil returned to Akbarābād and frequented the various cities of Bihar also.

Thus Bedil passed his time upto 1075 A.H. at 'Aẓimābād, Rāni Sāgar, Arrah, Mahsi, Cuttack and Kasari and then he settled down permanently at Shāhjahānābād and did not return to Orissa. Once at Akbarābād he was so needy that he had to starve as he himself writes: "Here all the provisions I had ran short and I had to face starvation."[3]

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 349.
2. Ikrāmul-Ḥaq identifies Ḥasan Abdāl with Attock. (She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p. 39 (Footnote)).
3. Chahār'Unṣur, p. 549.

* "Waḥdat-i-Shuhūd or Tawhid-i-Shuhūdi means unity of appearance. It is the Mujaddid's interpretation of Waḥdat-i-Wujūd. The exact translation is difficult. It may be translated as apparentism. According to him the experience of Waḥdat-i-Wujūd is only appearance. It appears to be so but it is not really so; it is mere Shuhūd or seeming. So Waḥdat-i-Shuhūd or Tawhid-i-Shuhūdi may be apparentism. However, it is generally taken to mean the theory of creation propounded by the Mujaddid (pp. 100, 107 infra) which apparently is a mistake. Sufiyā'-i-Shuhūdiyyah are the mystics who believe in this theory." (Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, p. 77).

In 1070 / 1659 when the news of Shāhjahān's illness spread throughout the length and breadth of the empire,[1] Bedil was with Mirzā 'Abdul Laṭif, a relative of Mirzā Qalandar and the commander of the Shujā's army. Shāh Shujā' revolted against his father and marched towards Delhi. At this time Rajas and Zamindars were causing disturbances in the country, disquit prevailed every where and movement along the roads was extremely dangerous.

The details of this are given by Bedil in several pages of the Chahār 'Unṣur. A fierce battle took place between the forces of 'Ālamgir and Shujā' at Khajwah[2] near Allahabad where thousands of soldiers were killed. Shujā' fled to save himself. Mirzā 'Abdul Laṭif tried in vain to face 'Ālamgir's army. He had to retreat. Bedil travelled via Tirhut. Ultimately Mirzā 'Abdul Laṭif reached 'Aẓimābād, Patna along with his party and camped at Chandchur.[3] At about sunset they noticed something like a white hill at a distance. Bedil, Sarmast Khān, and Mubāriz Khān rode upto the place to find out what it really was. They saw a garden with a hedge round it, went round it and then entered the gate. Within there were two bungalows with a tank between them. On the other side they noticed an underground chamber where a beautiful damsel (a fairy) was sitting on the floor.

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 551.
2. A Short History of the Indian People, p. 262.
3. Bedil, pp. 92-93 and Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 554.

Bedil tells us how he conversed with her and lost his consciousness at the sight of her. She looked towards the sky and recited:

سالہا در طلبِ روئے نکو در بدریم
روی بنما و خلاصم کن ازین در بدری

(For years together we are wandering in search of a pretty face. Show me your face and rid me of this wandering from door to door).

When he (Bedil) regained consciousness he found his two companions sitting beside him and again became unconscious. Bedil was removed to the camp by the men of Mirzā 'Abdul Laṭif . Bedil further says that his companions thought it to be a haunted place.

Mirzā Qalandar,[1] while travelling in Bengal, sent Bedil with a servant to fetch the bag and baggage he had left at Mahsi,* a village situated on the other side of the Ganges forty miles away from Patna. With great difficulty Bedil reached Jamnāpūr where he met an old man who introduced himself to Bedil as a servant of Khwāja Shāh Muḥammad, a neighbour of Mirzā Qalandar, and helped Bedil as a guide. When Bedil reached Mahsi he found the old man waiting for him at Khwaja Shāh Muḥammad's residence.[2]

1&2. Chahār 'Unṣur, pp.562 & 566.
*. Mahsi lies between Muẓaffarpur and Motihāri.

Bedil thanked him for his guidance and returned to his place. Next day, on getting the news of Bedil's arrival at Mahsi, the Khwāja's sons came to see Bedil. Bedil spoke to them about the help their old servant had extended to him and prdised him also; but to his great surprise, they denied having any such servant and told him that they did not even know any old man of that name and appearance.

'Ālamgir was busy in conquering the Deccan and chaos and disorder ruled in the suburbs of Delhi and Akbarābād. The governors were on the point of revolting hoping to capture power and to gain independence. Most of the 'parganas' surrounding Mathura were being looted and the people were being tyrannised. Every now and then a new ruler was sent, from the Deccan and reached this province too late. No caravan of traders passing through these areas was safe from marauders. At that time Bedil, who was not very happy over the state of affairs, was at Mathura.

After a stay of two years there, Bedil resolved to go to Delhi at all cost.

On the first day they halted at 'Azimābād[1] from where, with a caravan of fifty bullock-carts, he reached Shergarh after a great deal of hardship and difficulty. Here his coachman who had already conspired with the highwaymen

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1. Bedil, pp. 99 - 103.

wanted to mislead Bedil's party, but everything passed quietly and fortunately, nothing untoward happened.[1] Bedil again joined the caravan. Thereafter no incident took place and Bedil reached Delhi safely with his family on 27th[2] Jamādi-ul Ākhir, 1096 A.H.[3] From the preceding account one might conclude that, Bedil stayed in Bihar from his childhood till he was in his twenties and thereafter moved to Delhi where he passed the rest of his life.

The account of Bedil's visit to Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl (Atak) Sarāi Nikodar and Lahore has been given in the Chahār 'Unṣur.[4] As one has to go to Attock via Lahore, it is probable that Bedil visited Lahore also, whenever he went to Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl.

He visited Lahore for the last time, two years before his death. In 1131 A.H. when the Sādāt-e-Bārha put Farrukhsiar to death, Bedil wrote the following chronogram:

دیدی که چه با شاهِ گرامی کردند ـ صد جور و جفا ز راهِ خامی کردند

تاریخ چو از خرد جستم فرمود ـ سادات بوی نمکحرامی کردند

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1. Ruqāt-e- Bedil, p.152.
   (i) Only the date and not the year is mentioned in the letter.
   (ii) Chahār 'Unṣur, p.571.
   (iii) Oriental College Mag., Aug. 1952, p.26.
2. Oriental College Mag. Aug.1952, p.12.
3. Ḥairat Zār, p.50.
4. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 530.

which spread throughout the capital of Delhi like wildfire. Bedil fled from Delhi to Lahore for fear of his life and sought refuge with Abdus Samad, the Governor of Lahore. He returned to Delhi after a year or so when the mischief of the Sādāte-Bārha (Sayed Brothers) subsided, and died there. He thus spent some part of his youth and a major part of his old age in Delhi.

To put it in a nutshell, Bedil lived in different cities of North India though he made only Delhi, the place of his permanent residence, and was in other places for short periods only. Khushgo is justified in his remark that Bedil spent the last 36 years of his life in the haveli (house) presented to him by Nawab Shukrullāh Khān.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.109.

BEDIL'S MARRIAGE AND ISSUES:

There are various opinions regarding details of Bedil's marriage. The Chahār 'Unsur, however, is Bedil's autobiography in which in two places we come across internal evidence regarding the poet's marriage and issues, and this nullifies all controversies. Niyāz, a great Urdu scholar states; " - - - - - but Bedil remained a bachelor throughout his life, " and adds that "Bedil might have said what he liked on the point."[1] One wonders how a cautious and painstaking scholar of Niyāz's calibre committed such a blunder, when he claimed to have studied Bedil right from his fifteenth year of life.[2]

Bedil himself says,"Two years have passed since I met Shāh Kābuli at the shop of a darner in Mathura; during this period I had married and taken up the ancestral profession of a soldier in order that I might enjoy peace and composure under the shadow of a sword."[3]

According to Ikrāmul Haq,[4] Bedil got married about 1078 A.H. In support of his statement Ikrām-ul-Haq adds a remark of Bedil's own in which Bedil says that he (Bedil)[5] could enjoy peace of mind to a certain extent by securing a job, but missed very much the freedom of a bacheler's life.

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1. Maktūbāt-e- Niyāz, Part II, p. 317.
2. ibid, Part III, p. 143, and Hairat Zār, p. 11.
3. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 430 and Bedil, p. 81.
4. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p. 131.
5. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 430.

Bedil's favourite pupil Khushgo's statement too confirms that Bedil had married:

"بازبدارالخلافہ شاہجہان آباد رسیدہ کنج عزلت گزید۔ نواب شاکرخان و نواب شکراللہ خان بیرون دہلی دروازہ شہرپناہ در محلہ کہکیریان برکنار گزرگھاٹ لطف علی حویلی مبلغ پنجہزار روپیہ خریدہ کردہ نذر نمودہ ودو روپیہ یومیہ مقرر کردند تا روز مرگ ایشان می رسید۔ بقیہ عمر دران مکان بفراغ سی وشش سال اوقات عزیز بسر برد و بحسب ظاہر رشد تمام پیدا کرد و تاہل گزید۔ چہار حرم در حریم داشت ....."[1]

The above extract makes it quite clear that Bedil was not a bachelor. On the other hand, he led a married life and had four wives in his Harem.

Bedil[2] got a son when he was sixty-five years old. He named him 'Abdul Khāliq* after his (Bedil's) father. One of his letters also throws light on this:

"جواب تہنیت نامہ شاکرخان در تولد فرزند عبدالخالق کہ ....."[3]

No other Tagkira mentions the name of Bedil's son. Kausar[4] Chāndpūri, in his article on Bedil, mentions the name of Mirzā Faẓlullāh of Pānipat as a son or descendant of Bedil quoting the authority of Qudratullāh Qāsim, the

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 109.
2. Urdu, Karachi, July/Oct. 1958, pp. 293-327.
3. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.197.
4. Urdu Adab, Aligarh, Issue No.1, 1962 pp.13 & 17 respectively.

* He was born in 1119 A.H. and died in 1123 A.H.

author of Majmu'a-e-Naghz. But really speaking this (Faẓlullāh) was the name of Sarkhush's son. Khān-e-Ārzū describing his impression of his meeting with Sarkush writes:

" دیوانِ خود را بفضل اللہ نام پسرِ خود کہ بعد از و شعر می گفت و ہنر تخلص می نمود و در عینِ شباب جہانِ گذران را وداع نمود، داد کہ پیشِ فقیر بخواند ..... "

Kausar[2] Chandpuri further states that Bedil had written an elegy using the Mukhamma stanza form on the death of his 'elder' son. Kausar's remarks on the word 'elder' are reproduced below and are worth noting. Kausar thus neither

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1. Kalemātush Sho'arā, p.7.
2. Urdu Adab, Aligarh Issue No.1, p.18, 1962.

Continued from last page.

(۱) عبد الخالق بجالیم کسبِ ادب ـ در لیل زغایب آمد از قدرتِ رب
اقبالِ ازل شاملِ این تاریخست ـ آدینۂ اول شبِ شہرِ رجب
۲۰۵ + ۵۰۵ + ۳۰۲ + ۳۷ + ۷۰ = ۱۱۱۹ ھ

(۲) عبد الخالق آہ بدیرِ فانی ـ دیر آمد و زود کرد بال افشانی
زین مصرع تاریخِ وداعش دریاب ـ صبح نہم از ماہِ ربیع الثانی
۵۹۲ + ۲۸۲ + ۴۶ + ۸ + ۹۵ + ۱۰۰ = ۱۱۲۳ ھ

(Kulliyāt-e- Safdari: Qit'āt-e- Tārikh, p.62).

believes Qudratullāh nor can he tell us confidently anything about Bedil's children since towards the close of his article his words clearly indicate the ambiguity and his hesitation in crediting any particular amount: "Mention of Mirzā's (Bedil's) children was not found anywhere. Yet it is said that the line ہرگہ دو قدم خرام می کاشت is a part and parcel of a Mukhamma on the said demise of his elder son." Ikrāmul Haq states that Bedil got children and one son died at a very tender age. This means that he had other sons also.[1]

Now, a statement of Khushgo's may be examined: "At the age sixty-five a son was born to him". There was great rejoicing in Bedil's house and he celebrated the unexpected boon in old age and gave alms to the poor; but when this son passed away at the age of four, Bedil philosophically accompanied his funeral procession upto Darwāza to lay him to rest. People flocked to him, expressed condolence, and wept bitterly. Bedil consoled them saying, "It is surprising how my loss of my son makes you cry."[2]

Bedil has mourned his loss of his beloved son in a pathetic (Mukhammas elegy) two stanzas from which are quoted below:

"پیمانۂ چہ برق پریشان رفت ۔ کاشوب قیامتم بجان رفت
گر تابی بود در توان رفت ۔ طفلم زین کہنہ خاکدان رفت
بازی بازی بر آسمان رفت

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1. She'rul-'Ajam fil Hind, p. 131.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 113-14.

هر گه دو قدم خرام می کاشت = از انگشت عصا بکف داشت
یارب چه علم بوحشت افزاشت = دست از دستم چه گونه برداشت
بے من راہِ عدم چنان رفت"
بازی بازی بر آسمان رفت

("While he was at play he chanced to wander into Heaven".)

reminds us of the Japanese poetess, who wrote the following elegy comprising a single line, every word of which is full of great pathos and force:

"To-day my son has gone far away chasing a butterfly."[2]

After his arrival in Delhi from Mathura when he settled in the Haveli of Lutf 'Ali presented to him by Nawab Shukrullāh Khān and Nawab Shākir Khān, he, by mistake, took a dose of 'hartal' which is an injurious substance. In youth he meal consisted of seven or eight seers of food. In order to practise austerity he frequently fasted voluntarily. Even when Bedil was old, Khushgo, who attended him daily, saw him eating two and a half or three seers of food at a time. He was addicted to wine in his youth; but since it did not suit

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 114.
2. Nigar, Karachi, 'Jadid Shā'iri Number, 1965, p.20.

him in old age he gave up all intoxicating drugs to which he had been used, and started taking '(Bhang)'* which he called 'Mauji' and in winter he prepared some drink which he named 'Auji'

شادم کہ فطرتم نیست تریاکی تعیّن ۔ وہمی کہ می فروشم بنگست و گاہ گاہ است [1]

(I am glad that I am not given to opium-eating, the only thing I take is (potion of) bhang and that too only at times).

Bedil was a very strong, gallant and pious ascetic and possessed many moral qualities. In the beginning he was in the service of Shāh Shujā', the second son of Shāh Jahān. Very often his austerities were prolonged and he lived on a single cup of milk,[2] for a whole week. Those who were well-acquainted with him tell surprising accounts of his powers;

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 110.
2. ibid, pp. 105-6 & 109.

* "Bhang was another intoxicant commonly used by the poor, who sometimes mixed it with nutmegs and mace, whereas the rich added cloves, camphor, amber, musk and opium to it. It kept one in a pleasant mood. Sometimes green areca was put into it to increase its effect. It was taken to increase appetite. Under its intoxicating effect one could undertake hard labour without feeling exhaustion. But an excessive dose of it would make one unconscious. Jahangir prohibited the use of Bhang and buza altogether, declaring that they were injurious to health."
(Society and Culture in Mughal Age, p. 47).

a few interesting accounts may be recounted here. According to Khushgo the most surprising thing was that a scorpion could not move at all when caught in his shadow. Many times, he kept a scorpion for a moment in his shadow and the poor creature breathed its last. Moreover, the strongest iron locks opened automatically when he pointed at them with his fore-finger. When asked for the reason he used to say, "It is a gift first and secondly it is the result of the practice of "Ism-e- Fattāh' . He drank five seers of hot ghee whenever he had fever and, for sore eyes, applied the powder of black pepper like collyrium. These violent remedies only, could cure him of such complaints.[1]

BEDIL'S APPEARANCE AND PERSONALITY:[2]

Bedil was a man of medium height; he was broad-chested and very strong. His eyes were small and he seemed to be peering about when he looked at people. "The Pen of Destiny seemed to have inscribed all human arts on his forehead" as Khushgo remarks. He talked in deliberate, measured tones so that each word he said was clearly audible. He so spoke his words that it appeared as if he was scattering pearls, and showering flowers. However he spoke so low that people sitting some distance away from him could hardly hear him.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.106.
2. ibid, pp. 111 - 12.

From Khushgo's couplet about Bedil's slave it seems that Bedil had a slave named Maqmūn and Khushgo made a pun on the name of the slave:

بیدل کہ تختگاہِ فصاحت مقامِ اوست ـ معنی کنیز اوشد و مضمون غلامِ اوست

(Bedil who occupies the pedestal of eloquence has meaning as his slave-girl and the subject-matter as his male slave).

Bedil generally called out to his slave to ask him to prepare 'chilam' or a 'hookah' or for some other work. In spite of the slave's being close by and within hearing, Bedil used to shout loudly, clap his hands and utter harsh words.

His declamatory tones were naturally so loud that when he recited a couplet his recitation could be heard by anyone in the audience, and one standing outside the door could easily guess that he was reading out poetry.

Bedil passed the whole day inside the Haveli sitting all alone engrossed in composing verses. At about dusk he came into the drawing-room and stayed there till mid-night telling different anecdotes and repeating useful proverbs. Khushgo had collected his sayings with the detailed account of his assemblies, but it is not extant now. When he thought that time was being wasted in mere gossip, he urged his companions to recite poetry which he termed as worship of God.

Then he asked for his Kulliyāt* and enlivened the assembly by reading aloud from it. After he finished his recitation, he requested others to recite their Ghazals one by one.

His features clearly revealed that he was a real Mirzā. He was very fearless and shaved off his beard in spite of the opinion and censure he incurred thereby.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DISPLAY OF STRENGTH BY BEDIL:

Bedil exercised four thousand 'dands' (a form of exercise) daily and this number was often raised to five thousand. While wrestling he lifted his opponent with both the hands and dashed him down on the ground. Nobody ever ventured to wrestle with him or have a trial of strength. He, therefore, took his horse up a hill and, with all his might rolled it down and himself came down rolling along with it. He repeated this act several times and then only felt satisfied. Bedil was very friendly with the son of a barber. Once the barber's son did something which displeased Bedil who slapped him; so powerful was the blow that the poor fellow fell down dead.[1]

One night he accidently slipped while walking and caught at a wall to support himself, but the wall could not

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 110-11.

* A speciality of his Kulliyāt was that it had four hemistiches to a line on the page.

bear his weight and collapsed. Here are Khushgo's two Rubā'is in praise of Bedil's physical strength:[1]

ای زورِ تو دندان شکنِ اهلِ سخن ـ خوشگوی ضعیف را چه یارای دهن
گر زور کند بیکدو حرفِ تعریف ـ حقّا که شود زبانِ رستم الکن
زورِ تو دلِ ملک گداز د چو برف ـ وین باده ز بس زور ندگنجد در ظرف
گر خامه بوصفِ او نویسد ورقی ـ گردد دو صد ریزه استخوان بندیِ حرف

(1. O you whose force of poetry can smash the poets; what can the weak and feeble Khushgo utter ? If the tongue of even Rustom utters a word or two in your praise, it will certainly start stammering.

2. Your power melts the heart of Heavens as the heat of the Sun melts ice, and owing to its superabundance this wine (strength) cannot be held in a cup.

If the pen writes a page in your praise the very construction of the words falls into hundred pieces.)

One night Bedil narrated an incident thus: "A certain merchant in Patna wanted to dispose of his horse of the Iraqian breed for one thousand rupees. I wished very much to buy the horse and I, therefore, said to him, "If your horse wins the race against me I shall pay you two thousand rupees, and in case it loses, you will have to give the horse to me

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.110-11.

free of charge." The merchant agreed, and mounting on it made it gallop. I too girded up my loins and ran as fast as I could. To my surprise, both the horse and the merchant were left far behind before I had run as far as an arrow will fly. I won the race, but out of courtesy I returned the horse to the merchant."[1]

Similarly Bedil is believed to have killed a lion as easily as one should kill a goat while riding through a jungle with the Prince Shujā'.[2]

Bedil always moved about with an iron staff in his hand. It weighed thirty six seers of Shāh Jahān's time. Bedil had named it 'Naulasi' meaning in Hindi, "a delicate and tender branch". On the day of his annual 'Urs the staff was kept beside his grave. It was so heavy that only a strong person could lift it with both the hands using all his power. Khushgo states, "If someone has any doubt or treats this as a mere exaggeration, he should come forward and see with the eye of surprise and wonder the might of the Powerful.[3]

بیا بسم اللہ اینک گوی و میدان

BEDIL'S BEARD AND MOUSTACHES:

Things like the beard, the turban, the rosary, the sacred thread etc. stand rejected by Bedil who was a man

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1. Safina—— Khushgo, p.111.
2. Gulshan—— Hind, pp.54-5.
3. Safina—— Khushgo, p.111.

of independent spirit. Bedil shaved off his beard and moustaches. He had lived through 'Ālamgir's reign (right from the beginning to the end). The Emperor Akbar whom 'Ālamgir called the Greatest Infidel Grand-father (جدِ اکفر) believed in shaving off the beard. Unlike this, 'Ālamgir made it an important religious issue and issued an order commanding Muslims to grow their beards. Bedil refers to this in the following lines:-

دی بادشهی تراشِ ریشش خوش بود ـ امروز شهی دگر درین منع کشود
در دیدهٔ اعتبار از حکمِ دو شاه ـ جز پشمِ نبود که کاهید و فزود*

(Yesterday an emperor liked to shave off his beard, but today another one has ordered (his people) to do just the reverse (forbidden (his people) to shave). In the eyes of the sensible people, it was nothing but a handful of wool which was shorn and grew once again). Besides this Rubā'i, Bedil composed a Ghazal in which he has expressed his views on beard and moustaches.[1]

Similar objection to Bedil's shaving his face clean was offered by a mediocre poet 'Abdur Rahim[2] in 1081 A.H., and an account of the incident has been given in Chapter V, (p.236).

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1. Bedil, p. 390 and Kulliyāt- Safdari, p.40.
* Kulliyāt gives نچید / instead of کاهید.

2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.112.

چہ خطا در خطِ استاد ازل دید آیا ـ کہ باصلاح عزیزانش نیاز افتاد است*

Bedil put on a turban and had a very short or close beard (بچہ ریش). Some witty fellow wrote a couplet thus and left it at Bedil's place:

ـ پھنٹہ و ریشِ میرزا بیدل ـ بچہ و ریش و بچہ و دستار[2]

(Bedil with his turban and a short beard looks like a child with a beard and a turban).

When Bedil noticed it he wrote on its back the following quatrain:-

ای مغزِ خرد غبارِ تشویش مباش ـ عمامہ و بزرگی اندیش مباش

گر یکسرِ موست آدمیت کم و بیش ـ چون خرس ز سر تا بقدم ریش مباش[3]

Khushgo writes: "One day one of him (Bedil's) clerks returned to him after enjoying Mir Jumla Turkamān's company, and reported Mir Jumla to have stated that he had seen Mirzā Bedil that day; Bedil had been invited by Quṭbul Mulk Sayed 'Abdullāh Khān Barha. In Mir Jumla's view Bedil appeared to be a perfect gentleman, but he had one defect i.e. he shaved off his beard and moustaches.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.112.

2. Taskira-e- Ḥusaini, p.47. Gul-e- Raʿnā gives باصلاح عزیزانش ..... الخ, while Qāzi 'Abdul Wadood dismisses this as incorrect and quotes the authority of his friend Mr. Riyāz Ḥasan Khān Khayāl who has given three different reading of the line (1) کہ باصلاح غلط ریش بناز ... الخ (2) کہ بہ اصلاح خط و ریش بناز ... الخ (3) کہ بہ اصلاح خط و ریش دراز ..... الخ (Maʿārif, Aʿzamgarh, May, 1942, pp. 51-2).

3. Kulliyāt-e- Safdari: Ruba'iyyāt, p.67. It gives عمامہ نہ بزرگی ... الخ and زفرق تا قدم (ii) Diwān-e- Bedil (published by the Maṭba-'e Ḥasani, Bombay n. 367) gives it thus:

عمامہ بی بزرگی اندیش مباش ـ ای مغزِ خرد غبارِ تشویش مباش

گر یکسر موست آدمیت باقیست ـ چون خرس ز سر تا بقدم ریش مباش

Hearing this he (Bedil) is reported to have retorted that the difference between Mir Jumla and Bedil himself was that of some wool (hair). He had hair while Bedil had none. Bedil then recited the following verse:

بروت تافتنت گربه شانی ہوس ست ۔ بریش مُردہ شدن بُزگمانی ہوس ست[1]

(To twirl up the moustaches is to assume the appearance of a cat, and to die with a beard is to go down like a goat.)"

Once Bedil was with Niẓāmul Mulk Āṣif Jāh at the latter's residence, when Āṣif Jāh's cousin Muḥammad Amin Khān,[2] the murderer of Nawab Sayed Ḥusain 'Ali Khān (one of the famous Sayed brothers of the later Moghal period) appeared and passed some sarcastic remarks on his hairless face. Bedil at once retorted:

ریش و بروت خویش تراشیدہ ایم ما ۔ لیکن دلِ کسی نہ خراشیدہ ایم ما[3]

(We have shaved our beard and moustaches, but we have not inflicted injury on any one's heart).

Muḥammad Amin Khān* understood the point of the remark and being enraged, tried to unsheath his dagger. Bedil, strong

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.115.
2. Saudā, p. 2.
3. Nigāristān-e-Fārs, p.179.

* Muḥammad Amin Khān had no doubt conspired to have Amirul Umarā Sayed Ḥusain 'Ali Khān murdered. The latter was really killed by Mir Haider Khān who, in turn, was instantly killed by Nurullāh Khān.
(Siyarul-Mutākhkhirīn (Urdu), Vol. II, p.434).

and stout as he was, raised his fist. Āṣif Jāh intervened, made peace between the two and tried to please Bedil. Āzād's[1] version of the incidence is somewhat different. He says, "When the argument rose to a high pitch, Āṣif Jāh knowing Amin Khān's vanity and Bedil's hot temper, foresaw trouble, discontinued his prayers instantly, and introduced them to each other thereby tactfully averting the evil consequences."

The narration[2] of the author of Makhsanul Gharā'ib (compiled in 1216 / 1803) is a little bit different. He says that one day Mirzā Bedil was in conversation with Nawab Niẓāmul Mulk at the latter's palace; some one in the company said to Bedil, "How is it that you, a Muslim, have shaven off your beard ?" Bedil replied, "Yes I have, but I do not inflict any wound on the anyone's heart thereby." When the Nawab heard this, he said, "It is still worse to inflict a wound on the heart of the Holy Prophet, for Shari'at has forbidden shaving off the beard."

In the absence of the mention of any source, we may safely conclude that the author recorded the incident as he had heard it from others or read of it in some Tazkira, but Bedil's reply here seems to have been directed at some person who had stabbed someone to the heart. Perhaps that person was in the company.

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1. 1. Nigāristān-e-Fārs, p.179.
2. Indo-Iranica, Calcutta, Dec. 1965, p.11.

So far as the incidents mentioned by Khushgo and Mir Ḥusain Dost Sambhali are concerned, though the Nisāṁ figures in both the accounts, the names of other persons are different. It is likely that the two authors are referring to different incidents.

It is said that one night the thought that he had been shaving his beard and acting against the injunctions of Islam throughout his life crossed Bedil's mind and he began to weep in repentance, and in that state only, he fell asleep. He dreamt in sleep that his head was resting in the auspicious lap of the Holy Prophet who had wiped out his tears and by way of consolation, was saying: "O Mirzā, cheer up. Don't lose heart. Here I am to help you. You are dear to me as my own kith and kin."

Bedil himself describes this vision to us in the Chahār 'Unṣur:-

"امشب رسولِ خدا صلی اللہ علیہ وآلہ وسلم را بخواب دیدہ ام و فرقِ نیاز بزانوئے ربوبیت نہادہ مالیدہ ..... فرمود تعبیرِ خواب این است کہ حقیقتِ محمدیہ ہمہ وقت سایہ نگنِ احوالِ تست ..... ہرچند آدابِ ظاہر از تو بجا نمی آید بمجردِ استماع اہتزاز پیکرم خروشش قیامت انگیخت ....."[1]

This internal evidence confirms Bedil's dream mentioned above by Mir Ḥusain Dost Sambhali.

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, pp. 585-86.

BEDIL'S PORTRAIT:

In Chahār 'Unṣur[1] Bedil has narrated an incident regarding his portrait. Among his followers there was a painter called Anūp Chitrā* who was an object of jealousy even to the great artists like Māni and Bahzād. Bedil[2] has greatly praised Anūp Chitrā in his masterly art and skill in a poem specially composed on the artist. Out of sheer devotion this artist once sought Bedil's permission to paint his portrait. Since Bedil had no good opinion about this art and regarded it as a mere sport and frivolity, he turned the request down. One day, however, Anūp Chitrā was very insistent and just to please him Bedil permitted to do so at last.

Bedil tells us that he was greatly surprised to see his exact picture on paper and so faithful was the portrait that he could not distinguish between himself and the portrait:

سیرِ او در امتیازِ فرع و اصل ـ آشنا را داشت مستغنی ز وصل
تا شود بیگانه هم محرم نشان ـ بیدلم می‌گفت بے کام و زبان

Bedil folded it and kept it inside a book for ten years.+

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, pp. 534 - 37.
2. Bedil, p. 105.
* Kulliyāt-e- Ṣafdari (P.110) gives Atūp Chitrā which obviously seems to be a misprint.
+ Only Chahār 'Unṣur (Nawal Kishore Edition) gives "two years" (Kulliyāt-e- Bedil, p. 535).

In 1100 A.H. Bedil was seriously ill and his dear friends and relatives had lost every hope of his life. One day one of his associates was turning over the pages of the book casually when, by chance, he came across the portrait, kept inside it. He explained in grief wringing his hands, "Alas, this portrait too has been adversely affected by the evil eye. Probably some naughty child touched it with his wet or moist hands and spoiled it due to which its colour has faded away." Others then present saw the portrait and expressed their sorrow. One of them remarked," The blot does not seem to have been caused by moisture at all. If it was moisture, it ought to have affected the pages of the book as well." On hearing the conversation of his friends, Bedil too wanted to see the portrait. But he could not hold up the portrait for he was extremely weak and so could not share his friends' grief, and the portrait fell down from his hands.

After recovery from the illness, one day Bedil suddenly remembered the portrait. He opened the book in which it was kept, looked at the portrait and his wonder knew no bounds when he witnessed the same lustre and freshness in the portrait as before and it looked as if it had been painted a few moments before. This surprised his comrades also and they exclaimed, "What a calamity it is!" Bedil in a fit of annoyance tore it to pieces and buried it in the ground.

"جنونِ بے اختیاری اجزای صفحہ را بچاک گریبان رسانید، و
اضطراب بے حوصلگی ہمچنان بخاک مدفون گردانید۔"

Commenting on happenings like this, Bedil[2] writes that such incidents are merely the ordinary wonders that the matchless One performs. The human mind cannot probe into them

It is now quite obvious that Anūp Chitrā's portrait of Bedil was thus destroyed by Bedil himself. It is likely that Anūp Chitrā who pressed Bedil so much for the portrait, might have prepared a duplicate copy of it for himself, which, in view of his devotion to Bedil, does not seem to be improbable. Perhaps this very portrait of Bedil has been reproduced by Ikrāmul Ḥaq in his book entitled She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind.[3] Ikrāmul Ḥaq observes that the illustrations in his book have been taken from the magazine Hilāl published in Pakistan, in which he found photographs of personalities and those of extant portraits.

Bedil's[4] favourite pupil Ānand Rām Mukhliṣ had with him a copy of Bedil's Diwān containing some lines in Bedil's own hand, and a copy of his portrait too. This Diwān of Bedil[5] was preserved in the private library of the late Ḥabibur Raḥmān Sherwānī at Ḥabīb Ganj (near Aligarh), but now the library has been shifted to Aligarh University.

1&2. Chahār 'Unṣur p.537.
3. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, Introduction, p.3.
4. Oriental College Magazine, August, 1952, p.49.
5. Ma'ārif, A'ẓamgarh, Jan. 1934, p.44.

دامن ملک چین و حشت زاد | نقش حکم نگین نشست بباد
پایش از تخت بر زمین نلغزید | سر ز افسر شکست سنگ شکید
باد ده شد منتقل بجام دکر | بر کمینش نشست نام دکر
سرکشی پیش پای زندان جوی | بخت خوابید و پا بدامان مرد
چون صدا پی محرک تدبیر | ماند حیران خانهٔ زنجیر
مدتی داغدار سینهٔ تنگ | چون شرر داشت سر بدامن سنگ
در حرم خانهای زنجر شش | تیره میسوخت شمع تدبیرش
بال اگر میفشاند مرغ نفس | لب بخنده نشد کفیل جانگفس
چشم اگر میکشود دسته نگاه | جز بمژگان تر ندانست پناه
پاسبانهای دور باش بجنگ | داشتندش چو چشم از مژه تنگ
تا بحکم وفاق صبحدمی | طاق نیسیا دیاس خورد بهمی
جوش خوابی غبار غفلت بخت | خاک در چشم پاسبانان ریخت
فرصتش قفل انتظار شکست | دو دو کشتی ز چشم رودزن جست
ماه جولان دشت و در سر کرد | رنگ باشکست و پیر برون آورد
خلقی از هر طرف خروش انگیخت | بر سر غش غمان جهد گسیخت
حکما در بلا دکشت روان | تا پیش نگذرد در گردنشان
لیک از ان دهشتی کش آمد پیش | در پیش هر که رفت از خویش
شاه دامن شکسته برد و خشت | تا خت چون عمر آنسوی فرصت

إنّ من البيان لسحرا وإنّ من الشعر لحكمة

درین هنگام فرخی انضمام بتوفیق و تائید خداوند منعام نسخهٔ کارآمد شعری نازک خیالی مجموعهٔ دلپسند سخن سنجان شیرین مقالی
آئینهٔ زیبا صور ملفوظ و مفهوم گنجینهٔ رنگین جواهر منثور و منظوم صحیفهٔ معارف پیدلان و اصل حرز بازوی دلدادگان کامل یعنی

حسب فرمایش تاجران و الامناصه جناب مختار شاه صاحب بن اکبر شاه صاحب کشمیری ملا عبد الحکیم مخدوم
بن املا محمد رحیم آخوند مرحوم مرغینانی و بحسن اهتمام ملا نور الدین بن جیو اخان تاجر کتب و مالک مطبع غفر الله لهما

در مطبع نامی گرامی صفدری واقع بمبئی رونق انطباع پذیرفت

بعون فرمان فرمای ناطق و بیان مذاق بخش کام و زبان جها

مجموعهٔ کلام معجز نظام مهر سپهر بلند خیالی اختر برج شیرین مثالی غواص بحر
توحید شناور دریای تجرید یلوح طلسم کارخانهٔ آب و گل مرزا عبد القادر بیدل مسمی

بصحت تمام وسعی مالا کلام بپاس خاطر ناظرین شیفتهٔ اشراق و طالبین
مشتاق باهتمام متوقع اجر عظیم قاضی محمد ابراهیم ابن قاضی نور محمد مغفور

و مطبع حسنی واقع بمبئی از حلل طبع آراستند

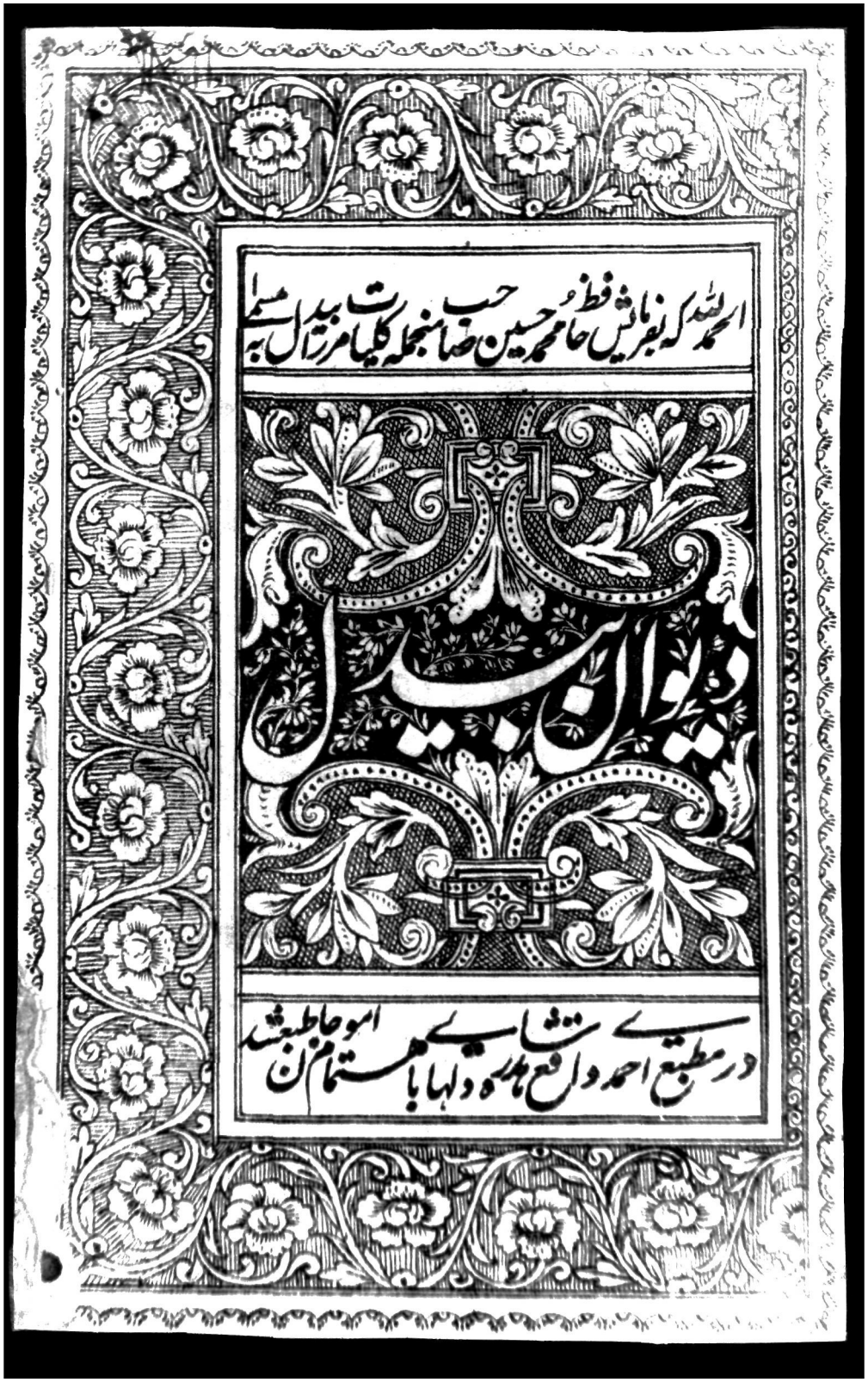
حسب الارشاد حافظ محمد حسین صاحب دامت هویته

جلد اول

کلیات بیدل

چهل و دو جزو

در مطبع احمدی واقع دلهای مومنان طبع نمود


الحمد لله که بفرمایش حامی فطرت محمد حسین صاحب منجمله کلیات مرزا بیدل به مسما
دیوان بیدل
در مطبع احمدی واقع هادره دلها با مهتمامی ابو جاطب شد

فہرست مجموعۂ اول

دیوان بیدل

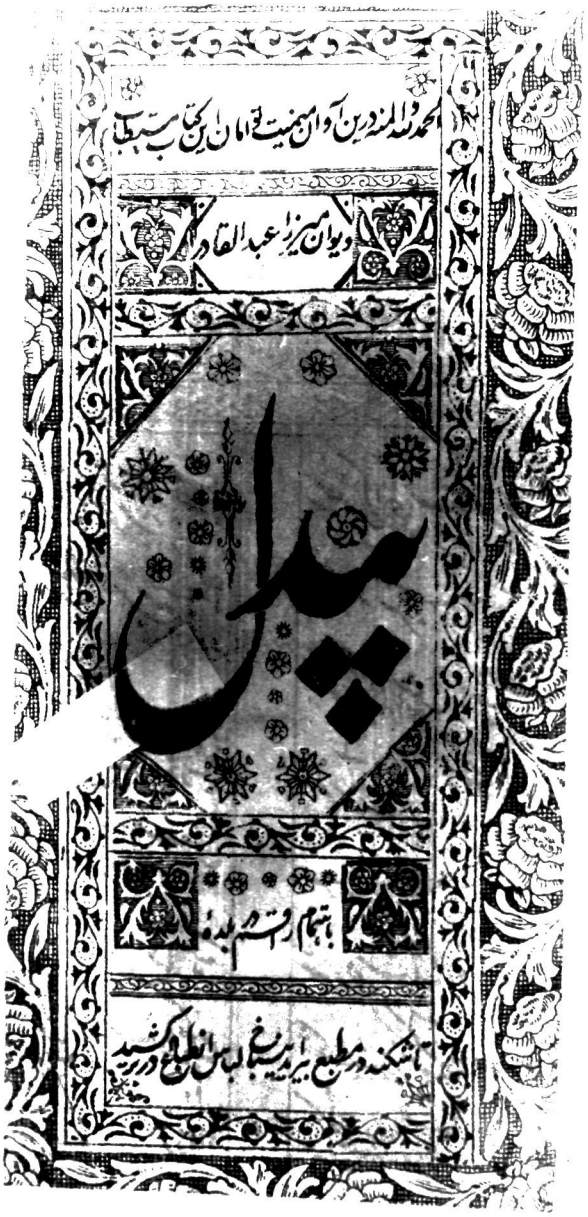
نکات بیدل

رقعات بیدل

به عون صناع مکین و مکان فضل خلاق زمین و زمان

نگارستان

در مطبع منشی نول کشور طبع مزین مقبول اهل جهان شد


الحمد لله والمنة درین آوان میمنت توامان این کتاب مستطاب
دیوان میرزا عبد القادر
بیدل
باهتمام راقم حروف
تاشکند در مطبع برادران میرزا باقی اطلاق در رسید

C H A P T E R III

I. THE WORKS OF BEDIL

About Bedil's works in prose and poetry Mir Ghulām 'Ali Āzad Bilgrāmi writes:

"کلیاتش نظماً و نثراً مابین لوذ و صد هزار بیت است"[1]

This is supported by Charles Rieu who writes:

"His (Bedil's) collected works are said to amount to more than one hundred thousand lines."[2]

Safina-e- Khushgo[3] contains the following details:

(1)	Maṣnawi-e- 'Irfān ...	...	11,000 verses
(2)	Maṣnawi-e- Ṭilism-e- Ḥairat	...	4,000 "
(3)	Maṣnawi-e- Ṭur-e- Ma'rifat	...	3,000 "
(4)	Muḥiṭ-e- A'ẓam	...	2,000 "
(5)	Tambihul-Muhawwesin	...	1,000 "
(6)	Tarji' - Band	...	1,000 "
(7)	Qaṣā'id, Tarkib-band, Qiṭ'āt and Mukhammasāt etc.	...	7,000 "

1. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p.153.
2. Indo-Iranica, December, 1963, p.44.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.123-25.

(8)	Ḥazaliyāt	...	3,000 verses
(9)	Ruba'iyāt (four thousand)	...	8,000 "
(10)	Chahār 'Unṣur (Prose)	about	10,000 "
(11)	Ghazaliyāt	...	50,000 "
	Total		100,000 "

But Gul-e- Raʿnā gives 4000, 8,000 and 55,000 verses against Ruba'iyāt, Chahār 'Unṣur and Ghazaliyāt respectively.[1] Khwāja[2] 'Ibādullāh says that each of the Maṣnawis Ṭilism-e- Ḥairat and Ṭur-e- Ma'rifat consists of six thousand verses which does not seem to be correct.

Kishan Chand 'Ikhlāṣ' resident of Shāhjahānābād and a contemporary of Bedil, who wrote a biography of poets three years after the death of Bedil states:

" دیوان غزلش زیادہ از لک بیت خواہد بود ویک دیوان قصیدہ و
یک دیوان رُباعی ومثنوی نیز دارد[3] "

This shows that only Bedil's Diwān of Ghazals contained more than one lakh verses. Encyclopaedia of Islam also gives the total number of Bedil's verses as ninety thousand.[4] As far as our information goes, there are only two poets who

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1. Indo-Iranica, December, 1963, p.44.
2. Bedil, p.249.
3. Tazkira-e- Hamesha Bahār c/o. Indo-Iranica, Dec.1963,p.45.
4. Indo-Iranica, Dec. 1963, p.45.

are considered composers of one hundred thousand verses in Persian Poetry: Fariduddin 'Attār and Mirzā Bedil.

Besides the works of Bedil mentioned by Khushgo in his Safina, Bedil wrote the following poetical works also:-

(1) Khātima-e- Ṭur-e- Maʿrifat known as Gulgashte-e-Ḥaqiqat[1]

(2) Nazm-e- Gul-e - Zard.[2]

(3) Rāmāyan-e- Bedil.[3]

(4) Maṣnawi-e- Mirāt[4]

(It really forms a part of the 'Irfān and covers ninety pages of the MS. with this writer).

Bedil's Prose Works:

(1) Chahār 'Unṣur.

(2) Nikāt-e- Bedil

(3) Ishārāt-o- Ḥikāyāt concerning the Nikāt-e- Bedil[5]

(4) Ruq'āt-e- Bedil.

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.133.
2. ibid, p.135.
3. 'Ghālib' p.281.
4. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Islamic MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library Madras, Vol.1, pp. 268-69.
5. It is given in the margin of the Diwān-e- Bedil (pp. 299-376) printed at the Maṭba-'e- Ḥasani, Bombay.

The manuscript of Bedil's Kulliyāt was prepared in his life-time at his instance. Every line of it had four hemistiches and it consisted of ninety-nine thousand couplets. It is said to have weighed fourteen seers of the day. The story narrated about the works of Bedil is very interesting. It is said that Bedil placed his Kulliyāt in one pan of a pair of scales and then placed an equal quantity of precious metals and ornaments studded with gems in another pan and distributed all the wealth among the poor. On that occasion Bedil is said to have remarked:

"The Indians weigh their children like this and give alms to the poor. Since a poetical work is the product of the mind of the 'heartless' (This being a pun on the word Bedil), I also pray to God for its safety. I hope, my prayer will be granted."[1]

THE WORKS OF BEDIL PRESERVED IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES:

1. NUSKHAH 'IRFĀN:

(1) A rare and complete MS. in possession of this writer (625 pages).
(For details see Chapter VII).

(2) عرفان (Rieu II p.707[a]).
A mystical poem without title, dealing with love, the lover and the beloved, in the

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.123.

metre رمل (W. Pertsch. Berlin Cat., p. 940) and small poems of the same kind;[1]

Ethe's remarks that the metre of the 'Irfān is رمل is obviously wrong. Only the title-poems are composed in the metre رمل مسدس مخبون مقصور یا محذوف and the actual Maġnawi is written in the metre خفیف مسدس مقصور یا محذوف An example of two would prove useful in illustrating the point:-

(أ) A verse from the title-poem.

عقل وحس سمع وبصر جان وجسد

— ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ —

همه عشقست هوالشکر احد

— ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪ —

فاعلاتن فعلاتن فعلن (بحر رمل مسدس مخبون محذوف)

(ب) A verse from the Maġnawi.

زین تماشا/ عنان/ نگر/ دانی

— — — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪

ببدل آخر/ تو نیز/ انسانی

— — — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪

فاعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن (بحر خفیف مسدس مخبون محذوف)

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1. Ethe's Cat., Vol. II, p. 909.

(3) 842[1]

'IRFAN

Another lengthy mathnawi poem by the same Bedil, also in Sufie strain, comp. in 1124/1712. - - - - - Copied in the XII c . A.H. Beg.:

عشق از مشت خاک آدم سرشت ـ آتش در خون کرد رنگ عالم ریخت

Or. pap. Ind. nast. Cond. not good Injured by dampness.

(4) 382/٧٧٤

Kulliyāt-e- Bedil

(337 pages), Ind. nast. No scribe.

Copied in 1136 A.H.

The 'Irfan is given at the end.[2]

(5) S.No. 5514/891[3]; 208 pages.
39

Scribed in 1128 A.H.

2. TILISM-E- HAIRAT :-

It was composed by Bedil in 1125/1713. It allegorically describes the several stages through which the soul of man passed before entering the human body.

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1. Ivanow's Cat. Vol.I, p.383.
2. Urdu handlist of Per. MSS. in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, Patna, Vol.I, p.103.
3. Cat. of Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS, Subḥānallāh Oriental Library, Aligarh, p.40.

Bedil mentions it twice in his letters to Nawab Shukrullāh Khān and 'Aqil Khān:

"طلسم حیرت بیدل عمریست که عبارتش به کنج دقت معانی واخزیده و مضامین همچنان در غبار الفاظ نقش شوخی دزدیده..."[1]

"درین ایام خانهٔ سعادت عنوان با نکشاف مطالب طلسم حیرت عنوانها مقرر نموده اند و مرآتی که خلاصهٔ مدعای آن نسخه است به صیقل تحریر زدوده ....."[2]

Beginning:

بنامم آن که دل کاشانهٔ اوست
نفس گردد متاع خانهٔ اوست

End:

زبان را با خموشی رو برو کن
دگر چندان که خواهی گفت و گو کن

1&2. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, pp. 73 & 132 respectively.

No. 75 (C)[1] طلسم حیرت

TILISM-i-HAIRAT

pp.126

Sub. Poetry, Extent, Complete, Author, A.Q. Bedil.

The scribe, Syed Mohammud, Yahya Al Husaini Al Imami.

Beginning and end same as above.

Date of transcription, 6th of Shawwal 1232 A.H.

No.1684:- TILISM-I-HAIRAT[2]

The magic of amazement, an allegorical mathnawi by Bedil (styled on the fly-leaf نظم حیرت), composed according to Sprenger Catal. p. 379 A.H.1125 (A.D. 1713)

No date. There are seals of Kasim Ali Mir Khan with the date A.D. 1191 (A.D.1777).

No.1685[3]: Another copy of the same. Beginning as in the preceding copy. No date.

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1. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Islamic MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library Madras, Vol.I,P.217.

2&3 Ethe's Cat. of Persian MSS. p.912.

3. TUR- E - MA'RIFAT : -

In this Masnawi Bedil deals with natural scenes like the rain-bow, twilight, mountains and the cloud most artistically. Bedil writes to Mirzā Muḥammad Amin:

" باری از سیر سوادِ بیرآت راه آوردی که قانعانِ تحفِ معانی بتقلیلے ازین پیشکش کفایت تصور نمایند نسخهٔ طورِ معرفتی ست ..... "[1]

Bedil sends a copy of the Tur-e- Ma'rifat to Mirzā 'Ibādullāh along with a few couplets at the latter's instance:

" مطابقِ امری که از امثالِ آن چاره نیست بستهٔ شعری چند بانسخهٔ طورِ معرفت که لمعاتِ حقیقتش منکشف تامل خواهد گردید بعرضِ ارسال رسانید ..... "[2]

Bedil writes to Nawab Shukrullāh Khān informing him about the completion of the Tur-e- Ma'rifat:

" معنی نواز! طورِ معرفت از هجومِ دیدهٔ انتظار رسامانِ یک عالم چراغان است و بهوای نثارِ آن کلیمِ این حقیقت صد هزار گوهرِ معنی بدامان ..... "[3]

Then he sends a copy of the supplement of the Tur-e- Ma'rifat (i.e. Gulgasht-e- Ḥaqiqat) to Nawab Shukrullāh's son 'Āqil Khān and writes:

" درین ایام بوساطتِ تعلیمِ خانصاحب حقائقِ مراتب ..... از

1,2&3. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, pp. 102, 114 & 118 respectively.

بهارستان عالم موزونی مستفیض گلگشت حقیقی بود عرض کیفیات را
وسیلهٔ نیازمندی تصور نمود، اگر در جناب خلد انتساب بالقبول برگ سبزی
بیرزد گلدسته آرای یک عالم فرق افتخار است ....."

P.P. Subrahmanya Sastri wrongly calls it Taur-i- Mārifat.[2]
The correct pronunciation is'Tur-e- Ma'rifat' as is
proved by the following couplet of Ghalib:

درین صحیفه به نوعی* ظهور معرفت است
که ذرّه ذرّه چراغان طور معرفت است

(1) "No.557

The volume contains two Mathnawis of Bedil:

(1) ff. 1-43, Tur-i-Ma'rifat.

(2) ff. 44-47 Muhit-i-A'zam.

In the beginning of each Mathnavi there is a seal of Asad'ullah Khan alias Mirza Nūshah (i.e. the poet Ghalib), dated : 1231 A.H. together with a verse in his hand.

No scribe.[3]"

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.133.
2. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Islamic MSS in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library Madras, Vol.1, pp.159-60.
3. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian, Urdu and Arabic MSS. in the Panjab University Library, Lahore, Vol.1, p. 390.

* بنوعی ('Bedil', p.249).

(2) "No.1686

Tur-i-Ma'rifat (طورِ معرفت)

The mount of Knowledge, another mystical mathnawi by Bedil.

Dated the 2nd of Rabi-alawwal, A.H. 1191 (A.D.1777 April 10)

By Muhammad Ja'far Rifa'ti.[1]"

(3) "432 (p)[2]

1. Tur-i-Ma'rifat by Mirza 'Abdal Qādir Bidil, Ethe I.O. 1686

2. Muḥit-i-A'sam, by the same author.

3. Diwan, by Nāṣir 'Ali Sirhindi.

Ff. 204, 26 Rabi'l. (s/c) 1146/6 Sept. 1733."

(4) Tur-e- Ma'rifat:- [3]

MS. No.36 in the Library of Idāra-e- Adbiyāt-e- Urdu, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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1. Ethe's Cat. of Persian MSS. p.912.
2. A Second Supplementary Handlist of Muhammadan MSS. in the University & Colleges of Cambridge, (p.71)
3. Tazkira-e- Makhṭūṭāt.

(5) Ṭur-e- Ma'rifat: [1]

Beginning as usual.

In the beginning of the Mathnawi there is a a seal of Asad'ulla Khan alias Mirza Nushah (i.e.the poet Ghalib.), dated: 1231 A.H. together with a verse in his hand.

No scribe.

4. MUḤIT-E- A'ZAM

It is a mystical Maṣnawi, a kind of Sāqināma interwoven with short tales. It contains eight sections.

Bedil probably composed it in imitation to Ẓuhūri's Sāqināma, but in its introduction or preface Bedil says:

" آنا بعد بدانکه این میخانه ظهور حقایق است نه ساقی اشعار ظهوری
آئینه پردازان کینیت دقایق است نه زنگار فروش خمار بے شعوری "[2]

In a letter to 'Āqil Khān Bedil writes about it as follows:-

" محیط اعظم را که ساقی نامه ایست مخترع افکار دعا گویا
منتخبی از غزلیات خیال رنگ و بو وسیلهٔ آمرزش قصور نموده

1. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian, Urdu & Arabic MSS, in the Panjab University Library, Vol.1, p.380.
2. Diwān-e- Bedil, Matba-'e- Ḥasani Bombay, pp.7-8.

It was completed in 1078 A.H.

(1) No.557[2]

This volume contains two Mathnawis of Bedil:

(1) ff. 1-43 Ṭur-i-Maʿarifat.

(2) ff. 44-247 Muḥit-i-A'zam

In the beginning of each Mathnawi there is a seal of Asad'ullah Khan alias Mirza Nūshah (i.e. the poet Ghalib.) dated : 1231 A.H. together with a verse in his hand.

No scribe.

(2) No.558[3]

Another copy of the Muhit-i-A'zam.

Beginning as usual.

No scribe.

The Sherwani Collection:-[4]

No. 861

Muhit-i-Azam

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.82.
2&3 A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian, Urdu & Arabic MSS. in the Panjab University Library, Vol.I, p.390.
4. ibid, pp. 552-53.

(3) No.863[1] ساقی نامۂ بیدل

Saḳi Nāmah Bedil, not dated: a contemporary copy. This Mathnawi is called ساقی نامہ on the fly-leaf and at the end.

(4) No.1682:-[2] Muhit-i-a'zam:

The title is a chronogram for 1078 A.H. dated 19th of Shawwal 1161 A.H. (1748, October 12).

(5) No.1683:[3] Another copy of the same. This copy, which is much smaller than the preceding one, contains the same prose preface as Sprenger's.
Dated the 36th of Safar A.H. 1191 (A.D.1777)
Mohammad Ja'far Rif'ati.

(6) No.1763:[4] This collection of treatises contains Muhit-e- A'zam at No.9 مثنوی محیط اعظم by Bidil in eight دور only six of which are found in this incomplete copy. Some pages are badly damaged at the end. The two pages before it are filled with a رقعہ محمد مسلمی سلیم, that is a prose-story of the complaint of the mouse and the request of the cat. Beginning:
صاحب سلیم سلامت فریاد الخ

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1. A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian, Urdu and Arabic MSS. in the Panjab University Library, Vol.I, p.554.
2&3 Ethe's Cat. of Per. MSS. p .911.
4. Ethe's Cat. of Per. MSS. p. 961.

(7) 432 (P)[1]

(i) Tur-e- Ma'rifat by Bidil

(ii) Muhit-e- Azam by the same author.

(8) 841;[2] MUHIT-A'ZAM; محیط اعظم

A long Sāqi-nama, in Sufic strain, comp. by the Bidil in 1078/1667 - 1667 (the title is a chronogram).

Copied by Qudratullah Mirzapuri in 1179 A.H. It contains a flowery preface.

(9) V.63 (10)

"A MS. given to me in August 1909, by Dr.Rida Tawfiq (Riza Tevfiq), contains two works of Abdul Qādir Bidil, who died in 1133/1720-1.

The first of the two works contained in this volume (ff 4^b - 94^a) is a "mathnawi" apparently entitled May Khāna (the wine-tavern) in eight sections (called "Davr" "Round or circuit of the wine-cup") preceded by a prose preface.

The title Muhit-i-A'zam ("Most mighty ocean") occurs in a quatrain of the end of f.94^a.

این نسخه را از خانه الهام رقم - گردید مستملی به محیط اعظم
دریافت و بیرخرد از روی حساب - سال اتمام (از آن) بنامش مدغم

---

1. A Second Supplementary Handlist of Muhammadan MSS. in the University & Colleges of Cambridge, p.71.
2. Ivanow's Cat. of Per. MSS. Vol.I, p.395.

This appears to imply that the title of the poem "Muhit-i-A'zam" (1078/1667-8), gives the date of its composition, in which case it must have been composed in the author's youth."[1]

(10) Muhit-e- A'zam:[2]

Royal Asiatic Society's Library of Persian MSS, Calcutta. Item No 135 / 992 in their catalogue. (New No.) (Old No.) Date of MS. 1179 A.H.

Under item No 112/533 this catalogue mentions one anonymous Maṣnawi of Bedil.[3]

5. TAMBIH-UL-MUHAWWISIN:-

The Sherwani Collection:-

No.859[4] دیوان بیدل

A good large-sized copy of the Diwan of Mirzā Abdul-Kadir Bedil. (d.1133 A.H.)

Mathnavis on ff. 434 a - 437 b.

Beginning: ای مهوشِ در هوای کیمیا الخ

Verses on fly-leaves. Contemporary binding.

Kulliyāt-e- Ṣafdari,[5] Bombay contains this Maṣnawi.

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1. A Descriptive Cat. of the Oriental MSS. belonging to the Late E.G.Browne, p.253-54.
2. Catalogue of Persian MSS.in the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, p.100.
3. ibid, p.98.
4. A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Urdu and Arabic MSS. in the Panjab University Library, Vol.I, pp.551-52.
5. Kulliyāt-e- Ṣafdari, p.64.

6. MASNAWI-E- MIRAT:-

No.141[1]

Mathnawi-Mirat

PP. 100

Sub. Sufism. Extent complete.

A rare mystical Mathnawi by Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil. — Transcribed by Ali Muhammad in 1153 A.H.

The MS. of the 'Irfān with this writer also contains this Masnawi.

7. DIWĀN-E-BEDIL:-[2]

(1) A rare MS. of Bedil's Diwān was preserved in the Habib Ganj Library, which is now shifted to the Muslim Aligarh University Library. It was an autograph copy of Bedil's Diwan. On the illumined title-page of the Diwān are written the following words:

"دستخط حضرت میرزا بیدل علیه الرحمة فقیر انندرام مخلص
از نظر میرزا صاحب گذرانیده استغنی بصحت رسید"

Besides these lines there is a round seal of 'Anand Rām 'Mukhlis' bearing the following words in a beautiful hand:

"انندرام مخلص محمد شاه بادشاه غازی"

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1. (i) A Descriptive Cat. of the Islamic MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol.I, pp.268-69.
   (ii) T. Chandrasekhran's Cat. pp. 80-1.
2. Ma'ārif A'zamgarh, Jan. 1934, p.44.

The title (عنوان) of the first Ghazal is "لمحرّره"

and the last page contains the following words:

"روز چهار شنبه چهارم شوال سنه یکهزار ونود وهشت
سنه ۱۰۹۸ هـ در مقام نارنول بتحریر رسید این اشعار از
دیوان قدیم وجدید بطریق اختصار نوشت تا
برای نسخه برداشتن دوستان را عذر کاهل تلمی نباشد والسلام"

(2) No.553:[2]

Diwan-i-Bedil

is nast., but is not dated

A complete copy of the Diwan of Mirza Abdul Kadir Bedil.

This copy of the Diwan is bound in two volumes:

Vol.I : Ghazaliyyat, in an alphabetical order upto Radif DAL (د).

Vol.II: A continuation of the Ghazaliyyat from Radif ر to ی on ff. 1-432.

Mukhammasat on ff. 433-464.

Rubaiyyat on ff. 464-469.

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1. Ma'ārif A'zamgarh, January, 1934, p.44.
2. A Descriptive Cat. of the Persian, Urdu and Arabic MSS. in the Panjab University Library, Vol.I, pp.387-88.

(3) No.554[1]

Diwan-e- Bedil

ff. 153, dated: Lahore, 21st Muharram, 1122 A.H.

Scribe: محمد فیض اللہ محمد ہاشم

Another copy of the same . Ghazaliyyat on ff. 1-138.

Rubaiyyat on ff. 139-148.

On ff. 149-151, there is a Hulyah of the Holy Prophet in Persian, by Muhammad Hāshim. Another Hulyah in Arabic with its translation into Persian, by Abu Bakr Fā'id b. Muhammad Lahawri, on ff. 151-153.

(4) The Sherwani Collection:

No.859.[2]

A good large-sized copy of the Diwān of Mirzā Abdul Kadir Bedil.

Ghazaliyyat in alphabetical order on ff. 16-429a.

Rubaiyyat on ff. 429a- 437a.

Mukhammasat on ff. 437b-447a.

Kasāid, Tarkib - bands and Tarji'-bands on ff.448b.

Mathnawis on ff. 484a- 487b.

Beginning: ای مہوس دریوای کیمیا

Verses on fly-leaves. Contemporary binding.

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1. A Descriptive Cat. of the Persian, Udru and Arabic MSS. in the Panjab University Library, Vol.1, pp.388.
2. ibid, pp.551-52.

(5) No.360[1] دیوانِ بیدل

A copy of the Diwān of Bedil.

Ghazaliyat on ff. (1b - 137a)

Rubā'iyyat on ff. (137a - 148b)

Seals of (?) (?) عین الرحمٰن خسرو (?) (sic).

(6) No.10[2]

Pages, 368

The poetical collection of Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil.

Dated, 14th Rabeeul Awwal 1151. Transcribed by

Mohammad Ismail.

(7) No.11.[3]

Diwān-i- Bedil.

pp. 546.

Incomplete, the last few pages are wanting.

Author Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil

Another collection of Bedil's poem containing ghazals and rubais. It is alphabetically arranged and is in a good condition.

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1. Cat. of Persian MSS. in P.U.Library, p.552.
2. A Descriptive Cat. of the Islamic MSS. in Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol.I, pp.159-60.
3. A Descriptive Cat. of the Islamic MSS. in Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol.I, p.160.

(8) No.555.[1] قصائدِ بیدل

Dated 1109 A.H. (?) (Colophon disfigured)
Selections from the Diwan of Mirza Bedil
consisting of Kasa'id mainly.

(9) No.556[2] دیوانِ بیدل (نامکمل)

An incomplete copy of the same (Diwan). Not dated.
This copy has Ghazals upto ردیف ت ending
abruptly with the Ghazal which begins

The Sherwani Collection:

(10) No.862*[3] رباعیاتِ بیدل

A copy of the Quatrains of Mirza Bedil. It is
said to have been copied from the poet's own copy.
Seals of Maharajah Takit Ra'i in the beginning,
dated 1206 A.H.

(11) No.1676[4]

دیوانِ قدیم مرزا بیدل - the oldest diwan of the
poet, with the following subdivisions:-

1&2. A Descriptive Cat. of the Persian, Urdu and Arabic MSS. in the Panjab University Lib. Vol.I, p.389.
3. ibid, p.553.
4. Ethe's Cat. Vol.II, p.910.

* Copied from the original autograph copy of the author; dated Thursday, the 11th Muharram, the 4th reigning year of Muhammad Shah; transcribed for Muhammad Muin-ud-Din Khan.

Preface in prose, on fol. 1b
Ghazals in an alphabetical order on fol.4b.
A few qasidas on fol. 336b.
Rubais in alphabetical order on fol. 343b.
This copy was made by Khawaja Baba Kalandar Kadri in Shahjahanabad at the request of Mirza Sa'id and finished 15th of Dhul- alka'dah A.H. 1106 (A.D. 1695 June 27), twenty-seven years before the poet's death. Some pages injured.

This diwan together with رقعات، نکات and چہار عنصر has been lithographed A.H.1287, at Lucknow, under the title کلیات بیدل 'Kulliyāt-e- Bedil)

(12) No.1677[1]

No.1677 -a less complete copy of the same.

(13) No.1678[2] دیوان بیدل

Another collection of Mirza Bidil containing ghazals in alphabetical order.

(14) No.1679[3]

A third collection of Bidil's lyrical poems, a kind of abridgement, in which ghazals are much shorter

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1,2&3. Ethe's Cat. p.911,(Vol.II).

than in the preceding one, and often mere fragments of the original poems.

Rubais in alphabetical order

corresponding to the second in the preceding copy, dated 6th Rajab 13th year of (محمد) Muhammadshah' reign i.e. 1144 A.H. (1732 A.D.).

(15) No.1680[1]

Short extract from Bidil's diwan, a smaller collection of ghazals and Rubais.

Seal of former owner Kasim Ali Mir Khan with the date 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.).

(16) No.1681[2] رباعیاتِ بیدل

One of the most complete collection of Bidil's rubais extant, containing nearly 3500 epigrams in a strictly alphabetical order.

dated 17th of Muharrem 1126 A.H. (1714 A.D.) by Muhammad Warith bin Muhammad Bakir al Sadiki.

(17) No.1750[3]

Abyat-i- Shu'ara ابیاتِ شعراء

Another very short anthology of Persian verses taken for the greater part from the diwans of the

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1&2. Ethe's Cat. p.911. (Vol. II).
3. ibid, Vol. II, p.951.

modern poets, without any special arrangement. Prominent contributers are Sa'ib (died A.H.1088) Walah (died 1169 A.H.) Shaukat (death 1107), Bedil (death A.H. 1133). It opens with a bait by Salah-aldin Khan, with takhallus Salah. No date.

(18) Serial No. 348 Poet (Diwan) منتخبات از دیوان بیدل
Library No.121.
Muntakhabāt as Diwān-i-Bedil:-
Mirza 'Abdal Qadir Bedil.
Contents:- The MS. contains ghazals, rubais and mukhammases. There are in them several new metaphors and graceful expressions introduced by the poet.

(19) Serial No.240[2] دیوان بیدل
Library Catalogue No.314.
Title of work: Diwān-i-Bedil.

(20) 836[3]
DIWĀN-I-BIDIL دیوان بیدل Oa24
Poems of 'Abdu'l-Qādir with the takhallus Bidil.
Copied in 1141 A.H. by ('Abdul Mu'min b. Muhammad

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1. Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic & Persian MSS. (Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection), Part II, pp.448-49.
2. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the Government Museum, Alwar, pp.53-4.
3. Concise Descriptive Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.I, pp.381-82

Taqi b. Muhammad Fāḍil), there is no preface, and the present volume contains chiefly ghazals, in alphabetical order, and a number of ruba'is at the end.

(21) 837[1]

The same.

Another copy of the same diwan, which is the longest of all the copies of this diwan in the present collection. Transcribed in the middle of XIIc. A.H. incomplete at the end. It contains only ghazals, in alphabetical order.

(22) 838[2]

The same.

Another copy of the same diwan, probably considerabl abbreviated. Transcribed in 1191 A.H. at Muhammadābād (Banaras), in the 18th year of Shah 'Alam. It contains ghazals, beg. as in the preceding copy, with a few tarji'bands at the end.

(23) 839[3]

The same.

Another copy of the same diwan, dating from the end of the XIIc. or beg. of the XIII.c.A.H. It

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1&2. Concise Descriptive Cat. of Persian MSS. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.I, pp.381-82.

3. Ivanow's Cat. Vol.I, p.382.

contains ghazals, in alphabetical order, beg. as in the two preceding copies, with a few quatrains and fards at the end. Some folios misplaced.

(24) 840[1]

The same.

Another copy of the same dīwan, transcribed towards the end of the XIIc. A.H. It contains ghazals, in alphabetical order.

Stray notes and quotations on fly-leaves and margins.

(25) 36[2]

Diwan-i-Bidil دیوانِ بیدل (The collected poems of Bidil). A selection of ghazals on love and mysticism.

The ghazals are in alphabetical order of their rhyme.

MS. contains a XIX century English printer (painter) depicting the figure of a lady in "full dress" ;

Acquired from Widgery Cambridge A.D.1925.

Lithographed under the title of Kulliyat-I-Bedil in Lucknow, A.H. 1287.

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1. Ivanow's Cat. Vol.I. pp. 382-83.
2. Descriptive Catalogue of the Garrett Collection of Persian Turkish and Indian MSS. including some Miniatures in the Princeton University Library, pp. 16-17.

(26) 809[1] دیوان بیدل

DĪWAN-I-BĪDIL

Ghazals of Bidil: The poems are arranged in alphabetical order. Apparently several folios at the beginning have been lost, and replaced by only one ghazal, beginning:

ای کرد تنگ و پوست سراغ تو سا نہا'

وا ماندہ اند شیشہ راہ تو مسا نہا'

The ghazals which are usually given first in other copies, are not found here.

Dated 1170/1756-1757. Occasional additions and corrections on the margins. A few Quotations on the fly-leaves.

(27) 286[2] دیوان بیدل

DĪWAN-I-BĪDIL

The present copy which is incomplete at the beginning and the end, opens with a series of Qasidas, alphabetically arranged; some of them contain chronograms. Copied towards the end of the XII/XVIII c.

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1. Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. First Supplement Vol.III,pp.367-68.
2. ibid. Vol.II, p.206.

(28) 52[1] DIWAN-I-BIDIL دیوان بیدل

The lyrical poems of Mirza Abdul Kadir Bidil MS. was presented by Dastur Rustomji Kekobadji Meherjirana.

(29) Diwān-e- Bedil[2] دیوانِ بیدل

By Abdul Kadir of Akbarābād (d.A.H.1133). 1169; 1170. miscellaneous poems by the same, 1214, 6, ff. 97b & 118a ; 1239, 50.

(30-33) Diwān-e-Bedil[3]

Four copies with I N 24b, II, III, & IV as new Nos. and 436, 518, 671 & 766 as old Nos. By Mirza 'Abdul Qadir alias Sa'idā-e-Gilani, scribed in the 18th year of Shāh 'Ālam's reign.

(34,35) Diwān-e- Bedil:[4]

MSS. in the Idāra-e- Adbiyāt-e- Urdu, Hyderabad, Deccan, item Nos. 268 and 383 in the catalogue.

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1. Descriptive Catalogue of all MSS. in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Navsari, p.89.
2. Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Part II, p. 1518.
3. Catal. of Persian MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, by Mir Ashraf Ali.
4. Tagkira-e- Makhṭooṭāt.

(36) No.93[1]

Diwān-e- Bedil:-

By Mirza 'Abdul Qadir 'Bedil' (d. 1123* A.H.).

(37) No.396[2]

The same

By the same author (d. 1123* A.H.).

Transcribed in 18th reigning year of Muḥammad Shah

(38) 843[3]

RUBA'IYYAT-I-BIDIL

A huge collection of quatrains in alphabetical order, by the same Bidil. At the end there are a few artificial ghazals; quatrains written with letters not requiring diacritical dots; another short series of quatrains, which, in contradistinctio to the preceding ones are written only with letters which require diacritical dots; a long mathnawi, describing the elephant; a series of tarji' bands. Copied in XII c. A.H.

1&2. Fihrist-e- Kutub Khāna-e- Āṣfiya, pp.718-19.

3. Ivanow's Cat. of Persian MSS., Calcutta, Vol.I, p. 383.

* This is wrong. Bedil died in 1133 A.H.

(39) 385[1] /۲۲۲

Rubā'iyyāt-e- Bedil:

230 pages, 14 ll. per page, nast.

Scribed in 1122 A.H.

(40) 386[2]

The same.

161 pages, 12 ll. per page, nast.

Scribed in 1115 A.H., probably in the author's own hand.

(41) Diwān-e- Bedil; - It is preserved in the Shaikh Qurrā' Library, Medina.

(C/o Dr.N.S.Gorekar's letter dated 12th March 1968).

144[3] Mahfilu'l 'Ārifin

Selections from various prose and poetical works of Sufi authors, such as Rumi, Sayyed Husayni, Pire-Ansari, Bedil, Jami, Husayn-e- Wa'iz and others.

1&2. Urdu handlist of Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur Patna, Vol. I, p.100.

3. Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS. in the library of the University of Bombay, pp. 226-27.

931[1] (MAJMU'A)

Ff. 1-15 in this volume (dating from XIIc. A.H.) contain fragmentary extracts from: Bidil (f. 1); Jalāl Asīr (f. 8); Kalīm (f. 8v); Maktubī (f.10) and several other poets.

946[2] MAJMU'A - i- ASH'AR مجموعۂ اشعار

A collection of stray quotations from various poets mostly modern, and well-known. Copied apparently towards the end of the XIIc. A.H.

). (ff. 82-84v). More poems from 'Āqil Khān, Bidil, Bāib and Asīr - - - - -

Guldasta-e- Gulshan-e- Ma'ni;[3]

It was compiled by Bhawāni Das wald Naththu 'Wāẓih' in 1206 A.H. The compiler himself has written it. It contains selections from the poetical works of Bedil, Amir Khusrau and Niẓāmi etc.

Item No.20 in the catalogue.

Kashkoal:[4] Item No.940 in the catalogue. It was compiled by Mirzā 'Atā Ẓiā in 1171 A.H. It gives selections from Bedil's poetry also.

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1. Ivanow's Cat. of Per MSS., Calcutta, Vol.I, p.441.
2. ibid. pp.456-57.
3. Tafṣili Fihrist-e- Urdu Makhṭooṭāt, pp.159-62.
4. Tagkira-e- Makhṭooṭāt, Vol.V, p.80.

244[1]

MAJMŪ'A-I- ASH'AR M18

An album of poetical quotations, originally probably intended to be written by a good caligrapher

- - - - - - - - -

The poets quoted are: Zibun- Nisa (f. v) - - - -
Saib (very frequently); Bidil (also frequently)---
Transcribed apparently about the middle of the XIIc A.H.

Muntakhab-e- Ashare[2] Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil
2 copies.

179[3]

MAJMU'ADAR 'ARUD

A collection of five treatises on prosody, almost all fragmentary.
The work must be of a quite modern origin, because Bidil (d.1133/1720), and even Walah (d. ca 1170/1757) are often referred to.

1005[4] Mustaad

This well-known Mustaad of Persian contains selections from Bedil also.

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1. Ivanow's Cat. of Persian MSS., Vol.I, p. 454.
2. Alph. Index of MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. library, Madras, pp. 15&19.
3. Ivanow's Cat. of Persian MSS. Vol.II, p. 149.
4. Tazkira-e- Urdu Makhtootat, Vol.V, p.168.

1131[1] Bayāz-e- Kalām

It was compiled at Aurangabad and Bidar during the reign of Nāsir Jang Shaheed before 1175 A.H. It contains some of Bedil's Ghazals, Rubā'is and Fards also.

No.772[2] - Bayāz-e- Kalam:

Contains selections from Anwar, Bedil and Shadan etc.

No.339[3] Majmu'a-e- Ash'ār:

Contains selections from Bedil, Sāib, Mazhar and Shaukat etc.

No.381[4] /777

(1) KULLIYĀT-E- BEDIL:-

By Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil 'Azīmābādi,

515 pages, 25 lines a page, nast.

It contains:-

(1) Chahār 'Unsur.
(2) Ruq'āt.
(3) Diwān ma' Deebācha.
(4) Tambih-ul- Muhawwesīn.

Transcribed by Muhammad Wāris bin Muhammad Bāqir in 1136 A.H.

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1. Tazkira-e- Urdu Makhtootāt, Vol.V, p.291.
2. ibid.
3. Cat.of Āsifya Library, Hyderabad, pp.748-49.
4. Urdu handlist of Persian MSS. in the Oriental Library, Bankipur, Patna, Vol.I, p.103.

Th.2451

(2) No.382[1] /44

The same by the same author.

337 pages, 25 lines a page, nast.

No scribe, transcribed in 1136 A.H.

It contains:-

1. Rubā'iyāt.
2. Ṭur-e- Ma'rifat.
3. Muḥit-e- A'ẓam.
4. Ṭilism-e- Ḥairat.
5. 'Irfān.

(3) The same.

During his stay with Ḥakim Ajmal Khān, Niyāz Fatehpuri had seen a MS. of Bedil's Kulliyāt in the former's private library. It contained something more than the published Kulliyāt. It is not known where it is now.[2]

(4) Intikhāb az Kalām-e- Mirzā Bedil.

(Cat. of Arabic, Persian & Urdu MSS, Subḥānallāh Oriental Library, Aligarh, p.31).

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1. Urdu handlist of Persian MSS. in the Oriental Library, Bankipur, Patna, Vol.I, p.103.
2. Maktoobāt-e- Niyāz, Part III, p.142.

MSS. OF BEDIL'S PROSE WORKS :-

1. CHAHĀR 'UNṢUR:-

The events Bedil has described in the Chahār 'Unṣur may well be called his own biography. As in his letters and Rubā'is, he hints, in this work too, at the events which took place in his times.

Bedil wrote this work at the age of forty-one. It deals with the biographies of some mystics and Ṣufis whose company helped Bedil a lot to improve and refine himself in his spiritual pursuit. Bedil sings the praises of these Ṣufis and condemns those who indulge in flattery and write eulogistic poems because he thinks them to be people with beggarly habits, saying, "God has betowed upon these poets illumined mind, but it's a pity that they utilised it in praising the nobles and the ministers.[1]

The title "Chahār 'Unṣur" means the "Four Elements". It is a prose-work interwoven with verses, divided into four sections ('Unṣurs). The author vividly presents moral precepts, religious sentiments and literary careers of several eminent personages like Maulānā Shaikh Kamāl, Shāh Muluk, Shāh Fāẓil, Mirzā Qalandar and Shāh Qāsim who were well-versed in prose and poetry and with whom he used to pass his time in literary discussions.

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1. Bedil, p.10.

Copies of the Chahār 'Unsur:

(1) A MS. copy of the Chhār 'Unsur is preserved in Dr. 'Abdul Haq's private Library, Poona. It was transcribed at Kadpa (Cuddapah). It is incomplete and contains 519 pages.

(2) چہار عنصر مرزا بیدل The four elements by Myrza Bydil. This book was composed in India, and there are no other sub-divisions in it except the four mentioned in the title. There are however numerous little anecdotes in prose of no great interest; small pieces of verses and odes, among all of which there is no stronger tie of connection than that Ssofy ideas pervade them all and that expressions and metaphors current among Ssofys only, are largely employed. There is no date to show when this MS. was written.

(3)[1] No.2115 C'ahar 'Unsur[2]-

One of the refined prose written, interspersed with numerous specimens of poetry, of Mirza Abdal Kadir Bidil - - - -

- - - -

An appendix to this work appears as fifth 'Unsur styled طور معرفت (exactly as the short mathnawi by Bidil, noticed in No.1636 and dated by another transcriber the 1st of Dhu-alhijjah (A.H.1163) (A.D.1750 Nov.) at Ahmedabad. The چہار عنصر are included in the کلیات بیدل lithographed in A.H. 1287 Lucknow.

(3)β Chahar Unsur[1]: Sr. and Sub: 180 "E"
(a) E10.

Library Accession or collection No. 22.

Extent: Complete. Age: A.H. 1224 (A.D.1809)

(4) Sr.No.[2] 184 E10. Lib. No.29: No.of folios or leaves 321

Extent: Complete. Age: A.D.1800

(5) Sr.No.180[3]

Transcribed by one Yusuf at Muhammadabad.

Date: 3rd Zil-Hajj 1224 A.H.

(6) 387 CHAHĀR-'UNSUR[4]

Another super-bombastic production by the same prolific Bidil, also in a Sufic strain. The present copy, dating from the XII c. A.H. contains only the first and the second 'unsurs (out of four).

Scrappy notes on the blank leaves and on the margin.

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1. Descriptive Cat. of Arabic Persian MSS. Part I (Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection), p.336.
2. ibid. Part I ,pp.336-39.
3. ibid. Part II p. 56 (Appendix I).
4. Concise Descriptive Cat. of the Per.MSS. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, p.168.

(7) 388[1]

The same.

Another copy of the same work, containing the first and the fourth unsurs. Copied in 1164 A.H. by 'Azimuddīn.

(8) 389[2]

The same.

Another copy of the same work, transcribed in 1160 A.H. It contains only the second and the third 'unsurs.

(9) 152[3]

CHAHĀR 'UNṢUR

The first of the four 'unsurs of 'Abdul Qādir Bidil 'Azimābādi, Reg. as usual.

Dated the 1st of Safar 1246/ the 22nd July 1830, by Sārāmāl Gurūhārilāl Kāyat'h. Stray notes on the fly-leaves.

(10) No.381[4]

Contains second 'Unṣur only.

1&2. Concise Descriptive Cat. of the Per.MSS. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.I, pp.168-69.
3. Ivanow's Cat. of Persian MSS. Vol.II, p.132.
4. Tazkira-e- Makhtoṭāt, Hyderabad Deccan

(11) No.134[1]

Copied in 1183 A.H.

(12) No-171[2]

Copied in 1225 A.H.

(13) No.382[3]

Chahār 'Unṣur.

(14) No.384[4]

It contains third 'Unṣur only.

(15) F16[5] (Old No.716) Chahār 'Unṣuri-

Only the 2nd and 3rd 'Unṣurs.

(16) F17[6] (old No.932)

The same

(17) No.552/891[7], 204 pages. No date.
19

1&2. Cat. of MSS. Asifya Library, Hyderabad, p.120-21.

3&4 ibid.

5&6 Ashraf Ali's Cat. of Persian MSS. in Asiatic Society of Bengal, p.62.

7. Cat. of Arabic, Persian & Urdu MSS. Subḥānallāh Oriental Library, Aligarh, p.44.

2. RUQ'ĀT-E- BEDIL

Bedil's letters give an idea of the difficulties of travel, shed light on the literary conditions and illuminate some aspects of the social history of the period in which they were written. Most of the letters have been addressed to Shukrullāh Khān and to his sons 'Āqil Khān and Shākir Khān.

(1) No.210[1]

Inshā-i-Bedil

p.164.

Sub., Belles letters.

Extent, Incomplete.

This is one of the refined prose-writings with numerous specimens of poetry, of Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil.

This is transcribed by Muḥammad Ḥasan.

(2) No.211[2]

p. 98. Extent, incomplete.

(3) No.212[3]

Inshā-e- Bedil.

pp. 260. Same as the foregoing. Not dated.

Scribe not mentioned. In the same volume.

1,2&3. A Descriptive Cat. of the Islamic MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. I, pp.319-20.

(4) No.213[1]

pp.284. Extent, complete.

Dated 25th of the 1st Jumada, year not mentioned.

Scribe, Syed 'Abdulla. In the same volume.

(5) No.214[2]

Insha-i- Bedil.

pp. 138. Extent incomplete.

Not dated. Scribe not mentioned. In the same volume.

(6) منشآت (also styled انشاء or رقعات, private letters, chiefly addressed to Shukr- allah Khan and his two sons, 'Akil Khan and Shakir Khan)

2116: a fragment of the same 2117; q.1676; other letters in 2122 and 2998 second Inshā, fol. 59b.

(7) No.2116[3]

Munsha'āt-i-Bedil

The correspondence of the same 'Abdal- Kadir Bedil containing chiefly letters addressed to Shukr-allāh Khān and his sons 'Akil Khān and Shākir Khān.

No date, included in the کلیات their usual title is رقعاتِ بیدل or simply انشاءِ بیدل The copy is collate

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1&2.Cat. of the Govt. MSS. Library, Madras, p.321&322.
3. Ethe's Cat. Vol.II, pp.953-54.

(8) No.2117[1]

A fragment of the same Munsha'āt.

(9) No.2946[2]

Collection of official letters and specimens of refined prose-writing in Arabic and Persian.

I - Arabic.

II - Persian

(a) - - - -

(b) بہار بیدل مرزا بیدل on ff. 46a - 49b - - - a specimen of ornate prose by Mirzā 'Abdal -Qādir Bidil.

(10) Ruq'āt-i- Bedil:-[3]

(67 pages); Incomplete; defective at the beginning.

(11) Ruq'āt:-[4]

Serial No. 299, 189 folios. Complete.

Scribe: Murādābādi (at Amroha). Copied from the MS. of Lala Mangal Sen in 1215 A.H.

- - - -

(12) Kitab-e- Inshā-e- Bedil:[1]

No.31, preserved in the Saraswati Mahal Tanjore Library, Tanjore.

(13) Ruq'at-e- Bedil:-[2]

ff. 111; MS. written in A.H. 1207 by one Muinuddin.

(14) Ruqāt-e- Baidil:[3]

S.No. 1147; Lib. No. D954(a)

44 folios; complete.

(15) The same[4]

S.No.1148; Lib. No.D1081(a)

80 folios; complete.

(16) 413[5]

Inshā-i- Qudaī:-

Copied towards the end of the XIIc A.H.

At the end there is a collection of letters of various popular ornate prose-writers, such as Nasīrā, Bīdil etc.

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1. Hamāri Zabān, 15th Jan. 1961 p. 9.
2. Mulla Feroz Library Cat. Bombay, p.59.
3. T.Chandrasekharan's Cat. pp.150-51.
4. Ivanow's Cat. Vol.I, p.181.

(17) 935[1]

(MAJMŪ'A-I- ASH'ĀR):-

- - - - - -

14. (ff. 190 v - 202). A collection of letters chiefly from Aurangzib, Nasrā or (Nasīrā), Bīdil and others.

(18) 410[2]

RUQ'ĀT-I- MU'IZZUDDĪN:-

"A small number of epistolary models - - - - - - - . On the last page (f. 58v) there is written apparently in the same hand-writing as that of the bulk of the MS: but these epistles are not found in the lith. edition (Lucknow, 1261) of Bidil's Ruq'āt. Copied towards the end of XIIc A.H. - - - -"[3]

(19) S.No. 397/D.967 (Lib.No.)[4]

Inshā-e- Bedil.

96 pages, complete.

- -

1. Ivanow's Cat. Vol.I, p.443-44.
2&3 ibid, Vol.I. p.179-80.
4. Chandrasekhran's Cat., p.52-3.

(20) 861[1]

Risāla-i- Haqq-numā

The well-known Sufic composition of Dārā Shikūh - - -

At the end there are a few specimens of epistolary style, from Bedil, Tughrā etc.

Copied towards the end of the XII/XVIIIc.

(21) No.132 (MS.)[2]

Bahāriya i.e. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil.

Scribed in 1165 A.H.

(22) No.97[3]

Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, (MS.)

3. NIKĀT- E - BEDIL:

It is a collection of short discussions in a Ṣufic strain written in an exceedingly bombastic and very obscure style. The MSS. of Nikāt are rare in the European libraries but common in the East. It was lithographed at Lucknow in 1281 A.H.

- -

1. Ivanow's Cat. Vol.III, p.74.
2. Cat. of Āṣifya Library, pp. 120-21.
3. ibid, pp. 124-25.

Copies:-

(1) 384[1]

NUKĀT-I-BĪDIL:

Copied in 1169 A.H., at Muhammadpur.

Beg. as usual.

(2) 385[2]

The same

Another copy of the same work, transcribed in 1182 A.H. by Ghulām Aḥmad.

(3) 386[3]

The same.

Another copy of the same work transcribed in 1228 A.H. by Dātārām. Beg. as usual.

(4) Nikāt-e- Bidil:[4]

Elegant composition by Mirza 'Abd-e-l-Kadir Bidil

Cf. Rieu. Cat. Brit.Museum p.737.

(5) S.No. 878/D.820[5]

Nikāt-e- Bedil.

64 pages, complete.

1,2&3. Ivanow's Cat. Vol.I, p.167.
4. A Handlist of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani MSS. of New College, Edinburgh, p.10.
5. Chandrasekhran's Cat., p.114-15.

(6) MS. No. V 63 (10)[1]

The second part of the MS. contains the Nikāt Dated 1223/1808-9.

(7) No.107[2]

Nikāt-Bedil.

Scribed in 1091 A.H. by 'Arab Shāh Pukhūri.

No.3070 Sharh-alnikat[3]

A Persian commentary on a Persian treatise on Sufism in twenty-seven fasls, styled Nikat; without author's or commentator's name.

The نکات or subtle thoughts on religious and moral subjects by the poet Bidil (noticed in Rieu p. 745 have apparently nothing to do with this treatise).

حل مشکلات بیدل - by Zain-ala'bidin Bira'dar Diwan (about A.H.1150), 1700, B, 14.

S.No. 879/B.1054.[5]

Vocabulary: Nisābul Muthallath. Complete. According to Sayed Kāmil Ḥusain its author is Badi'ee.[6]

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1. A Descriptive Cat.of the Oriental MSS. belonging to E.G.Browne, pp.253-54.
2. Cat.of Asafya Library, pp.136-37.
3. Ethe's Cat. Vol.II, pp.38-9.
4. ibid, p.174.
5. Chandrasekhran's Cat. p.184.
6. Cat. of MSS., Subhanallah Oriental Library, Aligarh, p.30.

The Masnawi Husn-o-Dil is wrongly supposed to be the work of Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil. In fact it was written by one Khwāja Muhammad Bedil and dedicated to 'Alamgir. Ethe says:

"Whether he (Khwaja Muhammad Bidil) can be identified with the well-known poet Abdel-Kadir Bidil (1133-1720) is doubtful. The date of composition, the dedication to 'Alamgir would favour such a supposition but on the other hand no biographical account of Bidil mentions a story of the above title (i.e. Husn-o-Dil) and the poet is never called Muhammad."[1]

Shaikh 'Abdul Kadir 'Sarfaraz' remarks:

"An extremely rare and valuable autograph copy of the masnawi entitled Husn-o-Dil by Muhammad Dā'ūd Amlahi (was) completed on Sunday, 26th, 1054/18th Oct. 1644 - - - - - it was translated in Persian prose by Bedil in India (1095/1684) - - - - - In the time of Wajhi, but earlier than Bedil, our author Muhammad Dā'ūd Amlahi, produced this versified Persian version."[2]

The above remarks are supported by the author of the Urdu-e- Qadim also. He mentions:

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1. Ethe's Cat. Vol.II, pp.1156-57.
2. Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS. in the Library of the University of Bombay, pp. 145 & 147.

"Khwāja Muḥammad 'Bedil' is other than / different from Shaikh (Mirzā) 'Abdul Qādir Bedil. The former too flourished during the reign of 'Ālamgir. He wrote Ḥusn-o-Dil in Persian prose and its chronological title is Dāgh-e- Dilband (which yields 1095 A.H.)."[1]

In the light of the above facts the Maṉnawi Ḥusn-o-Dil should not be regarded as a work of Mirzā Bedil.

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1. Urdu-e- Qadim, p. 128.

PUBLISHED WORKS OF BEDIL:

(1) Kulliyāt-e- Bedil:- (Nawal Kishore Edition of 1292/1875).

It contains Nikāt, Ruq'āt, Diwān an Chahār 'Unsur of Bedil. One copy of this Kulliyāt exists in the Madrasa-e- Muhammadia Jāme' Masjid Library, Bombay (Lib. No. 2582-85) and one copy with the writer of this thesis.

(2) Kulliyāt-e- Safdari:- (Bombay Edition published in 1299/1881)

Copies:

(1) Karimi Library, Anjuman-e- Islam Research Institute, Bombay (Lib. No.2340)

(2) Jāme' Masjid Library, Bombay.

(3) One copy in the possession of the writer of this thesis.

(4) Two copies in the Āṣifiya Library, Hyderabad Deccan. (Lib.Nos. 802 & 605).

(3) Kulliyyāt-i-Bedil:- (New No.3/ Old No.540).

It is preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, Bengal, (Calcutta). Vol.I contains the Diwān, Nikāt & Ruqāt; Vol.II, the Chahār 'Unsur. It was published in 1278/1861.

(4) Diwān-e- Bedil:- It was published at the Maṭba'-e- Safdari, Bombay in 1302/1884. It contains Ghazals,

Muḥiṭ-e- A'ẓam, Nikāt and Ishārāt-e- Bedil. One copy exists in the Karimi Library, Anjuman-e- Islam Research Institute Bombay (Lib. No. 3005).

(5) Diwān-e- Bedil :- It was published at Matba'-e- Hasani Bombay in 1292/1875. One copy exists in the Deccan Muslim Institute Library, Poona. It contains Ghazals, Rubā'is, Muḥiṭ-e-A'ẓam, Nikāt, Ishārāt and Hikāyāt.

(6) Diwān-e-Bedil:- It forms the first volume of Bedil's Kulliyāt and contains Diwān and Nikāt only. It was published at Maṭba-e- Ahmedi, Shāhdara Dilhāi, Distt. Meerut in 1178/1764. This press had published also the Chahār 'Unṣur, a copy of which is with the writer of this thesis.

(7) Bedil (i.e. Diwān-e- Bedil):- (Tashkent Edition). The copy with this writer belongs to the private library of Dr. 'Abdul Ḥaq of Poona. No year.

(8) Kulliyāt-e-Bedil:-[1] (Kabul Edition).

* Prince Naṣrullāh Khān[2] had published Bedil's Ghazals upto Radif 'dāl'

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1. Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1959, pp.293-327.
2. Adab Kabul, Oct./ Nov. 1965, p.12.

(9) Ḥairat Zār- (Selections of Bedil's Ghazals and poems published in 1956 by Shāh 'Aṭāur-Raḥmān Kākwi.

BEDIL'S CHARACTER:

"Personality . . . . . is that part of a person's life which he spends in the company of others and thereby creates such an effect that he wins the heart of, and influences the minds of others."[1] and Dr. Khwāja Ahmed Fārūqi writes: "Besides the hereditory and physical qualities, the environment and upbringing play an important part in building the character and personality of a man."[2]

In the light of these opinions let us examine Bedil's character. As we have seen Bedil's early upbringing was done by his mother and his uncles because he was so unfortunate as to lose his father rather early. It seems that this left a void in his life and we feel that all his life he sought to find a person or idea by which to fill it and to feel a sense of security and assurance. His mildness and gentility may be ascribed to his mother's care and influence.

His early association with sages and saints of the day made him extremely fond of and deeply interested in philosophy and spirituality. He sought to practise the virtues that the saints preached and thus to improve his own spiritual stature.

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1. Shakhsiyāt-o- Kirdār, p. 15.
2. Mir Taqi Mir --- Hayāt aur Shā'irī, p. 287.

He had inherited a mystic taste* and soldierly qualities from his father. From mystics like Shāh Mullāh etc., he learnt charms and prayers and started using them for the good of mankind. This made him a humanist.

Bedil's most impressionable period i.e. adolescence, was thus spent in such company as made him inclined to mysticism and the pursuit of the invisible.

His taste for philosophy and mysticism was noted as early as 1071 A.H. by Shāh Abul Qāsim Tirmizi who predicted a brilliant future for the seventeen year - old boy and the prophecy came true as we know.[1]

Bedil as we have mentioned in the chapter on his life, had a Mansab of 500 under the prince Muhammad A'zam. Perhaps, he had joined the army just to conceal his mystic tendency and piety.

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1. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 347.

* Prof. Sa'id Nafisy makes the following statement regarding mysticism:
" The Europeans have named Tasawwuf as mysticism and sometime as 'asceticism'. I do not agree with them. For there is nothing secret or hidden in Tasawwuf. The sufis have always, and sometimes even at the cost of their lives, preached their moral principles most boldly and candidly. They were not scared of being excommunicated by the jurists."
(IQBĀL REVIEW (Journal of the Iqbāl Academy, Pakistan), April, 1960, p. 8).

He left the service when he was ordered by the prince to compose a Qaṣida in his honour which Bedil was unwilling to do for he would compose no poetry to please his benefactors. This shows his independent nature. He himself states: "The Real Benefactor (God) had made me so independent that in no circumstances did I consider myself to be subordinate to any body except Him:-

جُز حق سوئی ہر کہ حاجتت بست احرام
پیش آیدت این چہار غم یاس انجام
ننگِ کم تہتی، و تشویش سوال کہ
رسوائی احتیاج، و نومیدی کام

It was Bedil's independent disposition which compelled Niẓāmul Mulk Āṣif Jāh to pay a visit to Bedil at the latter's residence and when in 1133 A.H. Niẓāmul Mulk established an independent state in the Deccan he invited Bedil to go there, but Bedil declined the invitation and sent his reply in the form of a couplet:

دُنیا اگر دہند نہ جُنبم ز جای خویش ـ من بستہ ام حنائی قناعت بپای خویش

(Even if they hand over the whole world to me, I am not going to move a little from my place, since I have applied henna of contentment to my feet.)

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 550.
2. Sharh-e- Bāng-e- Darā, p. 460 and Majmū'a-e- Istifsār-o-Jawāb, Part I, p.279.

Throughout his life Bedil never went to any nobleman's house to see him.[1]

While writing the explanation of the couplet in one of his letters Niyāz[2] Fatehpuri writes: "Remember, contentment does not necessarily mean cessation of work (inaction); on the other hand, it means a sense of self-respect, which teaches man to stand on his own feet."

From the foregoing evidence, it is clear that Bedil had developed such utter confidence in the Lord, and clearly seen the limitations to which all human efforts and power are subject, that he would humble himself to none but the Lord. This independence of spirit might have seemed insolence or impudence to some, but it was really extreme humility which those who could not understand it, mistook for pride.

Of the faith of Bedil, Khwāja 'Ibādullāh[3] Akhtar writes: "Bedil was a Qalandar.* He neither cared for any king as long as he lived nor did he have the pretensions to being a spiritual master and thus cheat his disciples." There were and there are even at present many followers of Bedil.

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1. Sharh-e- Bāng-e- Darā, p.460 and Majmū'a-e-Istifsār-e-Jawāb, Part I, p. 279.

* A kind of itinerating Muhammadan monk, with shaven head and beard, who abandons everything, wife, friends, possessions and wanders in the world.
(F. Steingass: A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, p. 986).

2. Maktūbāt-e- Niyāz, Part I, p.124.
3. Bedil, p.112.

He is still alive in his poetry, and will remain so. People who pay homage to him are learned scholars. He did not care for the appreciation and praise of the ignorant who worship graves[1] (of saints etc.).

Mirza Bedil always avoided the rich but his merits attracted all kinds of men, among them the mightiest in the land, to him.[2] His indifference to worldly eminence was such that he labels poets with a beggarly disposition as the followers of the devil, calls their poetry inspired by the devil and looks down upon the kings, ministers and nobles who are their patrons and whom such poets praise unduly in their panegyrics:

ایکه تحریف سلاطین کردهٔ - مشق تعلیم شیاطین کردهٔ
فخر طبعت مدح شاهی بیش نیست - کانهم تخت و کلاهی بیش نیست
گر به بزم شاه قرب اندیشهٔ - بیگمان زردشت کافر پیشهٔ
رفته گیر آئینهٔ دینت زدست - نیست هرگز حق پرست آتش پرست[3]

(If you praise the king, you should know that Satan is your teacher, you repeat whatever he teaches you. - - - - You feel proud over this trifling thing. Think for a while what an insignificant thing a King is! Kingship means a crown

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1&2. Bedil, pp. 112, 117 respectively.
3. Chahār 'Unṣur, Part I, p.383 & Kulliyāt Ṣafdari, p.46.

and a throne and nothing more. If you are a King's favourite you are indeed a fire-worshipper (a Maǧgi) and rest assured, you have lost your Faith.)

Of course, Bedil praises both in prose and poetry his disciples and followers, with whom he corresponded. Among these the two brothers Nawab Shukrullāh Khān* and Nawab Shākir Khān top the list. It was only in their case that he wrote laudatory verses and chronograms. He also wrote some verses in praise of 'Ālamgir.

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* The ministers and the nobles and grandeeds of the Moghal regime were generally poets themselves, and patronised other poets. Whenever Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān was promoted to a higher Manṣab, Bedil congratulated him in a letter and also wrote a chronogram commemorating the occasion. In one of his letters, Bedil writes to Nawab Shukrullāh Khān

شکرِ خدا که صاحبِ ما را ز فضلِ حق ـ جمعیتِ اضافۂ اقبالِ سرمدی ست

تا شکرِ این عطیه برون آید از حساب ـ تاریخِ او "مراتبِ تائیدِ ایزدی" ست

(رقعاتِ بیدل ص ۹۹)

(Thanks be to God that our master enjoys, by His grace, the satisfaction of the enhancement of eternal prosperity).

In order that gratitude for this bounty should be expressed by means of Abjad system (حساب جمل), the chronogram is مراتبِ تائیدِ ایزدی which yields 1090 A.H.

مراتب =	643	+ تائید =	415	
+ ایزدی =	32	=	1090 A.H.	

In 1114 A.H. when Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān was appointed the governor of Mewat, Bedil wrote a letter of nine lines.

The chronogram which Bedil composed on the ruthless murder of Farruksiyar condemning the Sayed brothers for their extreme callousness speaks of his impartiality,

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Every line of it contains a chronogram (Ruq'āt-e-Bedil, pp. 114-15). The last line of this letter is خانصاحب مبارک باد = 1114 A.H. When 'Ālamgir conquered Bijapur in 1097 A.H. and Golconda a year later, Bedil wrote a chronogram on the conquest in a letter to Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān with the following note:

" للّٰہ الحمد اندیشۂ دعاگو بہانہ جوی تقریبی است کہ بآن وسیلہ تحفۂ نقرا
پیش گذارد یا مصرعی در آنجناب معروض دارد وگرنہ چہ
نواب (و) کدام مستطاب بلکہ چہ عالمگیر وکدام بدر منیر ..... "
(رقعات بیدل ص ۱۱۲-۱۱۳)

(I have composed this stanza by way of recreation and as an intellectual exercise, and you may submit it to the Emperor if you like; but I care neither for the Nawab nor for the Emperor).

It seems that Bedil had some devotion to and liking for 'Ālamgir in his heart, which urged him to write the following stanza; but at the same time he asserted his contentment and independence:

شاہِ عالمگیر یعنی حضرتِ اورنگ زیب
آنکہ دارد تکیہ بر شمشیرِ او فتح وظفر
عزمش از اقلیمِ دہلی کرد آہنگِ خروج
تا کند بنیادِ شاہانِ دکن زیر و زبر

fearlessness, as well as free and independent nature. His preoccupation with the charms and mystical practices kept him busy in Sufistic analysis of things, and away from the

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اوّلیں سالی کہ فتحِ ملکِ بیجاپور بُود
در غل و زنجیر رفت اسکندر[1] از طوق و کمر

تاخت بر گلکندہ رایاتِ ظفر سالِ دوم
ہمچنان در تلبِ[2] قطب الملک طوفان داد سر

گشت از روی جمل در دیدۂ اہلِ حساب
سالِ فتحِ اوّلین "جمشیدِ نصرت" جلوہ گر
۱۰۹۷ھ

خواستم روشن شود آئینۂ فتحِ دوم کہ
داد شوخیہای او ادراکم درین مصرع خبر

ہست یک معنی کہ تعبیر[3] از دو تاریخش کنند
"اعظمِ مطلوب" ۱۰۹۸ھ "فتحِ بادشاہِ نامور" ۱۰۹۸ھ

[1] سکندر عادل شاہ، تاجدار آخری بیجاپور [2] بر تلب : بیدل ص۱۵ ؛ کلیاتِ صفدری ص۴۹
[3] تعبیر دو تاریخش کنند : کلیاتِ صفدری ص۴۹ و شعر العجم فی الہند ص۱۳۳

Most probably 'Ālamgīr also cherished some liking for Bedil, because despite his hatred for poetry, he has quoted some of Bedil's couplets in his letters as an authority, or to emphasise the piece of advice and admonition he wanted to convey to his sons Prince Muhammad A'zam Shāh and the Prince Mu'azzam. (Ruq'āt-e-'Ālamgīr, pp.26,37,62 and Safina-e-Khushgo, p.115.)

Though very fearless, unconventional in some respects (in shaving off his beard) he was a very kind man. He would confer his blessings and instruction irrespective of caste and creed. Thus he was a truly enlightened man whose sympathies knew no artificial barriers of caste or colour.

realities of the world. In the Chahār[1] 'Unṣur he has described incidents of his life and happenings in his career which he could not explain and so treats as miracles;* he treats these and other incidents in other people's lives as real and not as fantasies. This would show that he deeply believed in mystical doctrines and trusted that a human personality could be organized on several planes.

Bedil was not peevish like some of his contemporaries who are said to have been surly.[2]. He greeted with great warmth and modesty any body who wanted to see him.** Some times this led to rather awkward or humorous meetings.[3]

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, p. 416 & Bedil, p.103.
2. Tazkira-e- Sho'arā-e- Urdu, p.40.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.113.

* For instance, the appearance of a man who offered his horse to Bedil when the latter was very much fatigued owing to journey on foot, and disappeared never to meet him again, or at Mathura the guard of the fort happened to tell Bedil that the fort was haunted by genii. Bedil instantly composed a couplet thus :

با عفاریت جهانی دیگر — جای کم نیست مکانی دیگر

(To the demons of the world there are many places of refuge or shelter other than this and they should better shift there and vacate the fort).
The chit on which this couplet was written was tied to a spear and installed in the fort and the genii who were pelting stones or showering flames of fire vanished. Bedil assigns these to "The mysterious effect of words" (اثر سخن). He has drawn moral lessons and many subtle points from such happenings.

** Once a eunuch came to him and said, "I want to dye my turban. Whatever colour you choose will be acceptable to me also." Bedil said "The Divine law has created for a species like you, only two colours —— sandal colour and that of almond." (Safina-e- Khushgo, p.113).

He was so high-minded that he refused to listen to the Maqnavi, written by Mir Ja'far 'Zatalli' in his honour simply because its very first line contained a vulgar and disparaging remarks against the master poets like 'Urfi and Faizi. Bedil got rid of Zatalli by offering him an Ashrafi by way of remuneration for his praises which he had sung.[1]

Bedil never wrote a satire on any contemporary poet, writer or any predecessor, which shows that he was above personal animosities and petty quarrels like those which seem to have been rife among the poets of the day.[2]

His extreme composure and calmness on the occasion of the death of his child, when Bedil himself was old, would prove that Bedil's philosophy was no intellectual exercise, but was a way of life which he had assiduously cultivated and practised. Thus was he a true philosopher who had disciplined himself very strictly.

In fine, Bedil was one of the greatest mystic, scholar patron of art of his day and a teacher of morals. He wished for improvement of society and strove for the welfare of the people. His humanitarianism has an eternal value. He was above all envy and jealousy, enmity, hatred and bitterness. Majnūn Gorakhpurī describes his character as follows:-

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.113.
2. Bedil, p. 129.

"Bedil was born with a wonderful disposition and character. He did not get a true friend who could fully share his feelings. The whole world seemed to him to be strange and unfamiliar and he himself seemed to be a stranger to the whole world:-

عالمی صاحب دلِ است اما کسی بیدل نشد

- - - - - There has been no greater mystic than Bedil in the past. Others hypocritically style themselves 'Master of Heart' (Godly or pious); he, on the contrary called himself 'Bedil' (heartless) and made artistic efforts to consider and regard himself 'heartless' all his life. Bedil was an obstinate gnostic - - - - - -

"Bedil behaved as a mystic with the world and generously excused its defects and shortcomings, but took into account its merits too. He never condemned the world, nor did he get annoyed with it. - - - - -

"As regards his personality, views and thoughts Bedil was a champion of the cause of re-interpretation of religious principles to suit the new context. To his age Bedil was a pious Sufi and mystic and 'out of tune' (lit. misfit i.e. not an adherent of tradition) خارج از آهنگ as a poet.

"He never cared for kings, ministers and nobles and did not pollute his lips and tongue by praising them.

Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān was the only exception to this rule, simply because he had very cordial and intimate relations with Bedil and he really deserved the friendship of a Qalandar like Bedil. Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān never (at any time) tried to influence or inspire awe into Bedil by means of position, estate or mansab. - - - - -

"He was proud of Bedil's friendship. Bedil's letters to Nawāb Shukrullāh clearly show that the latter considered Bedil to be superior to himself; otherwise Bedil would not have adopted a free and informal tone in his letters to Shukrullāh Khān. Bedil has many such couplets to his credit as might have been considered to be merely conveying the traditional views on asceticism, contentment and renunciation, but their real spirit was the hatred and revolt against snobbery and social climbing, which constituted the temperament and disposition of Bedil - - - - -

"He was very passionately fond of knolwedge —— both worldly and spiritual, but regarded the so-called insipid mullas and hypocritical learned men as a curse to mankind - - -

"Bedil did not belong to any particular party or group or class of people. On the other hand, he wished well to the whole of humanity. Bedil disliked people belonging to two higher classes of society; one class consisting of the rich who, by means of their wealth, want to dominate the public and the second comprising the learned men, who, on the

strength of their textual and scholastic learning, want to keep people ignorant deliberately and thus exploit them - - -

"Bedil was a citizen of the world. This is an aspect of his life which is universally to be appreciated and has an eternal value - - - - - . Bedil did not renounce the world completely, on the contrary he tried to understand and reform it. - - - -

"Whether Bedil realised God or not, does not matter much. I, for one, regard him to be a real highly advanced mystic. He passed through the stages of life, which may well be termed as "Internal Conflicts", and he could guide others in this matter. He was a great 'traveller of the world' - - - - - - -

"He, in all respects, resembled perfect Banjārāh or "Hans"[1] of Nazir Akbarābādi. He had undertaken many difficult and trying journeys and passed through similar physical and mental tortures. On the one hand, he was a tough spiritual hero who had enjoyed the blessings of the renowned Sufis and Majgoobs of his time, and on the other hand, he was a soldier, but hated worldliness and snobbery from the core of his heart."[2]

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1. The word Hans seems to have been borrowed from the terminology of Vedanta, according to which the Hans is the penultimate stage of the attainment of such perfection as is possible for a human being in this world. This is common knowledge to those who have read something of the Vedantic philosophy.

2. Pardesi ke- Khutoot, Part II, pp.32-4, 146-47, 150-53 and 160.

We may conclude this chapter with the excellent remarks of Khushgo who claims to have seen thousands of great men by the time he was fifty-six and yet had never come across any able person who could be mentioned in the same breath with Bedil:

"قسم بجانِ سخن که جانِ منست و بخاکِ پای اربابِ سخن که ایمانِ منست که فقیر درین مدتِ عمر که پنجاه و شش مرحله طی کرده با هزاران مردم ثقه برخورده می باشم لیکن بجامعیتِ کمالات و حسنِ اخلاق و بزرگی و هموارگی و شگفتگی و رسائی و تیزفهمی و زودرسی و اندازِ سخن گفتن و آدابِ معاشرت و حسنِ سلوک و دیگر فضائلِ انسانی همچو اوئی ندیده ام و از کسی که او را بسیار و کم دیده است انصاف می خواهم امّا بشرطی که منصف باشد نه متعصب ....."

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.118.

Front view of Bedil's tomb at Delhi.

BEDIL'S DEATH

Bedil arrived in Delhi on 27th Jamādiul- Ākhir 1096 A.H./31st May 1685 from Bihar. His arrival there proved a source of great joy and pleasure to Nawab Shukrullāh Khān and his three sons, namely, Nawab Luṭfullāh Khān, Nawab Shākir Khān and Nawab Karamullāh Khān. In view of Bedil's retiring and independent nature Shukrullāh Khān and his sons secured a peaceful and quiet house for Bedil on the bank of the river Jamuna away from the busy life of the Capital.

According to Khushgo[1] the house was situated outside the Delhi Gate and Shahr Panāh (the fortifications of a city or the wall round it) in the Khekaryān lane near Guzar Ghāt Luṭf 'Ali.

Before coming to Delhi, Bedil had roamed through different cities of North India for full thirty-one years; but he spent the remaining thirty-six years of his life in the house mentioned above. After getting such a remote and peaceful house Bedil remained there permanently and did not go anywhere except when he was in difficulties over verses he wrote against the Sayed brothers:-

مدّ عمرم چون نگه بیدل بحیرانی گذشت ـ گوشۂ چشمی نشد پیدا کہ جا پیدا کنم [2]

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.109.
2. Ruq'āt-e-Bedil, p.152.

(My span of life has passed in amazement, like a look or a glance. There appeared not a single corner of the eye where I would get some room for myself.)

It would seem that the poet-philosopher was regarded with respect by the elite of Delhi and that even the Sayed brothers and Bedil were on the friendliest terms.

He had long-standing friendly relations with Amirul-Umarā Sayed Husain 'Ali Khān. During the latter's stay in the Deccan, Bedil had sent him the following couplets from Delhi as a token of regard:

اے نشۂ پیمانۂ قدرت بچہ کاری ۔ ہستی* اثری یا پئ تاراجِ خماری
می در قدحی، گل لبری، جام بدستی ۔ رنگِ چمنی، موجِ گلی، جوشِ بہاری

(O intoxication of the cup of Nature, what are you busy in ? Are you an effect (of the draught) or are you chasing tipsiness itself ? There is a cup of wine in your hand, you have wine in the cup and a chaplet of roses round your brow. You are the very colour of the garden, the wave of the rose-bush and the very vigour of the spring).

But the cruelty and callousness with which Farrukhsiyar was murdered grieved Bedil extremely and in that state of grief and sorrow he wrote the following chronogram:-

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1. Sarwe-Āzād, p.149.
* Kulliyāt-e- Safdari: Qiṭ'āt, p.54.
Dr. 'Abdul Ghani gives this line as مست اثری ... الخ
(Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1958, p.47).

دیدی که چه با شاهِ گرامی کردند ـ صد جور و جفا ز راهِ خامی کردند
تاریخ چو از خرد جُستم فرمود ـ سادات بوی نمکحرامی کردند *
۱۱۳۱ھ

(Did you see what they did to the mighty King ? A hundred harsh and cruel deeds they did unthinking. I asked Wisdom for the date. She answered: The Sayeds behaved disloyally to their king.)

In view of the power of the Sayed brothers, this was a very bold step on the part of Bedil. No doubt, the step can be assigned to only his integrity and fearlessness. Nevertheless such an action by Bedil would have led to serious consequences, as is evident from 'Aẓmatullāh Beẓkhabar's chronogram composed as a rejoinder to Bedil. It clearly reveals the reaction caused by Bedil's chronogram:

با شاهِ سقیم آنچه شاید کردند ـــ از دستِ حکیم هر چه آید کردند
بُقراطِ خرد نسخهٔ تاریخ نوشت ـــ سادات دوا ش آنچه باید کردند *
۲۷۸+۷۵۹+۳۱۱+۴۶۶ = ۱۱۳۱ھ

(They treated the weak and infirm Emperor in the manner he deserved, and did what a doctor would have done. The Hippocrates of Reason wrote the chronogram thus: 'The Sayeds have done to him what was actually required.')

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* Sarw-e- Āzād, p. 169.
** ibid, p. 169.

Now, Bekhabar had very cordial relations with Bedil and was amongst his admirers and frequently called on Bedil. Bekhabar's book entitled Safine-e- Bekhabar mentions the fact.[1] (See also Chapter V).

To compose a chronogram in reply to Bedil, in spite of the friendship, proves the fact that political conditions demanded that the character of the Sayed brothers as depicted by Bedil be resisted and in view of the need of the time and political circumstances the murder of Farrukhsiyar be justified. Such an attitude shows that those in power must have disliked and disapproved Bedil's mention of the true and bare facts. The Sayed brothers were at the pinnacle of glory. Their achievements and increasing power and influence had made them all the more arrogant and conceited. Bedil's chronogram spread fast and the Sayeds tried to retaliate. Bedil got scared and went to Nawab 'Abdus Samad at Lahore. The Nawab[2] treated him with great honour and respect. Amirul[3] Umarā Sayed Husain 'Ali Khān was killed at Torah on his way to the Deccan on 6th Zil - Hajja, 1132 A.H. With his death, the day of the Sayed brothers came to a close. The surviving brother could never recapture the glory of the day that was done. They ceased to be king-makers and Muhammad Shāh got into his own hands all the power of a ruler. These circumstances proved

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1. Sarw-e- Āzād, p.315.
2. ibid, p.149.
3. ibid, p.149 & Siyarul - Mutākhkhirīn, (Urdu p.6(
   (It gives the date as 1133A.H.)

to be very favourable to Bedil and the sword hanging over his head also disappeared; consequently he returned to Delhi in the beginning of 1133 A.H.[1] and once again started living in his old and dear house. Bedil did not live long after his return from Lahore. Old age and the nomadic way of life might have affected his health very badly. His life in Delhi had been very peaceful and happy. He might have been very hopeful that the rest of life would be very happy and comfortable for him, but unfortunately, a very short time was granted to him. The hardships and fatigue of the journey had made him very weak and feeble. He had an attack of typhoid after his return in the month of Muḥarrum 1133 A.H./ 1720 A.D. The fever lasted four or five days continuously and then left him. Bedil, thinking that he had completely recovered, took a bath. The next day he had a relapse; it was the 3rd of Ṣafar, a Wednesday evening. He had fever throughout the night. Nawab Ghairat Khān Bahādur Ṣalābat Jang who was very friendly with Bedil, sat by his bedside and kept vigil for the whole night. According to him Bedil sometimes seemed to be quite all right and sometimes fainted away. In his conscious moments, Bedil laughed involuntarily. In short, Bedil seemed to have realised that the end was near; by daybreak his condition worsened. Bedil breathed his last on Thursday, the 4th of Ṣafar 1133 A.H. and was laid to rest in the grave, which he had built inside his haveli ten years before his death.[2]

1&2. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.120&121.

On the third day after his death when prayers were to be offered for the departed soul of Bedil, a fresh Ghazal and a quatrain were found under his bed. Khushgo had seen both the Ghazal and the Rubā'i with Bedil's cousin Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id, son of Mirzā 'Ibādullāh. Khushgo has quoted them intact in his Safina.[1]

Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id who was the eldest son of Mirzā 'Ibādullāh, was appointed a successor to Bedil and was entrusted with the job of celebrating the 'Urs of Bedil and holding the Mushā'iru (poetic symposium) also.[2] The Ghazal and the Rubā'i mentioned above are the last verses, Bedil composed. The Ghazal has a special appeal of its own, and the tune and the harmony of these verses clearly reveal Bedil's emotions and feelings at this time. Here are the last Ghazal and Rubā'i of Bedil. These composed, the mighty voice was still;

(For the relevent Ghazal please turn over).

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1 & 2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 121.

غزل[1]

بہ شبنمی صبح ازین گلستان فشاند[2] جوشِ غبارِ خودرا
عرق چو سیلاب از جبین رفت و ما نکردیم کارِ خود را

ز یاسِ ناموس ناتوانی چو سایہ ام ناگزیر[3] طاقت
کہ ہر چہ زین کارواں گران شد بدوشم از گند بارِ خودرا

بجمعِ موہوم فکرِ فرصت فزود صد پیش و کم ز غفلت
تو گر عیارِ عمل نگیری نفس چہ داند شمارِ خودرا

قدم بصد دشت و در کشادی ز نالہ در گوش ہا فتادی
عنان بضبطِ نفس ندادی طبیعت نے سوارِ خودرا

بلندیٔ سر بجیب پستی است اعتبارِ جہانِ ہستی
چراغِ ازین بزم تا سحرگاہ زندہ دارد مزارِ خودرا

ز شرمِ ہستی، قدح نگونا کن، دماغِ مستی بوہم خون کن
تو اے حباب از طرب چہ داری، پُر از عدم کن کنارِ خودرا

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 121-22.
2,3. 'Atā Kākwī gives نشاند and "ناگریز" which may be misprints.
(Ajkal, Delhi, March 1962, pp. 3-4).

بخویش گر چشم می کشودی چون موج دریا گره نبودی
چه سحر کرد آرزوئے گوہر کہ غنچہ کردی بہار خود را

اگر دلیت ز رنگ کین زدا ید خلاف خلقت نہ پیش آید
صفائے آئینہ شرم دارد کہ خوردہ گیرد دوچار خود را

تو شخص آزاد، پیرہنی قیامتست اینکہ غنچہ مانی
فزود خود داریت برنگی کہ سنگ کردی شرار خود را

وداع آرائش نگین کن، ز شرم دامان حرص چین کن
مزن بسنگ از جنون شہرت چو نام عنقا وقار خود را

بدرزن از مدعا چو بیدل ز الفت وہم پوچ بگسل
برآستان امید باطل خجل مکن انتظار خود را

رباعی

ببیدل کلف سیاہ پوشی نشوی — تشویش گلوی نوحہ کوشی نشوی
بر خاک بمیر و ہمچنان زود بر باد — مرگیت سبک است بار دوشی نشوی

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 123.

Bedil died at the ripe age of seventy-nine. He was born at the time of Shāhjahān and died during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.

Khushgo's chronogram on Bedil's death is the best of all and gives the day, date, month and year of his death:

یوم پنجشنبہ چہارم ماہِ صفر ۱
۱۱۳۳ھ

Another chronogram by the same poet is contained in a quatrain:

افسوس کہ بیدل ز جہان رو بنہفت ۔ وآن جوہر پاک در تہ خاک بخفت
خوشگو چو ز عقل کرد تاریخ سوال ۔ "از عالم رفت میرزا بیدل" گفت 2
۱۱۳۳ھ

Khāne-e-Arzū wrote the chronogram employing the 'Ta'miya Method' (طریق تعمیہ) in a fragment:

رفت "بیدل" از "غم آباد فنا" 3
۱۱۴۹ - ۴۶ = ۱۱۳۳ھ

Following is the chronogram by Āzād Bilgrāmi:

سرو سرکردۂ ارباب سخن ۔ از غم آباد جہان خرم رفت
گفت تاریخ وفاتش آزاد ۔ "میرزا بیدل از عالم رفت" 4
۱۱۳۳ھ

Bedil's pupil Muḥammad'Aṭāullāh 'Aṭā, a jester wrote the chronogram in the metre of Khāliq-e-Bāri, but it exceeds the exact year by 4 and yields the correct year when the word " بیدل " is read as بیدال (without the letter 'dāl') and Alif of عبدالقادر is not to be counted:

1,2 & 3. Safina-e-Khushgo, p.123.
4. Khazāna-e-'Āmera, p.153.

عبدالقادر بیدل رفت ۱

One more pupil of Bedil, Mughal Khān 'Qābil' wrote a chronogram using the 'Ta'miya Method':

سالِ تاریخِ وفاتِ بیدلِ عالی مقام ۔ از سرِ بینائی دل گفتہ شُد "ختمِ کلام"
۱۱۳۱ + ۲ = ۱۱۳۳ھ

The scribe of a MS. of Bedil's Rubā'iyāt preserved in the British Museum writes "Bedil passed away, today the 4th of Ṣafar".[3]

Some biographers have given 3rd of Ṣafar as the date of Bedil's death, but in the light of the evidence led above, it seems to be absolutely wrong, and it may be based on mere hearsay.

The most authentic statement is that of Khushgo who was a favourite disciple of Bedil and who attended Bedil's assemblies very regularly specially in Bedil's old age. He claims to have had the pleasure of attending Bedil's meetings one thousand times.[4] Besides, he was in Delhi when Bedil expired, and attended the prayers for the departed soul of his master on the 3rd day as well.

The following Tazkiras, Magazines and Catalogues give the correct date of Bedil's death:-

1. Tuḥfatul Kirām, Vol.II, p.21.
2. Gulshan-e-Hind, p.54.

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1 & 2. Safina-e-Khushgo, pp. 150 & 213. 4. ibid, p.117
3. Ajkal, Delhi, March, 1962, p.3.

3. Tazkira-e-Nishtar-e-'Ishq, C/o Urdu, Karachi, July, Oct. 1958, pp. 293-327.
4. Baḥrul-Faṣāḥat, p. 30.
5. Qāmusul-Mashāhīr, Part I, p.147.
6. Natāi'jul-Afkār, p. 75.
7. Sarw-e-Āzād, p. 150.
8. Tārikh-e-Zabān-e-Urdu, p.113.
9. Tārikh-e-Adabiyāt-e-Iran, p.199.
10. Bedil, p. 109.
11. Ḥairat Zār, p. 46.
12. Maārif, Aug. 1946, pp. 85-6.
13. Dāstān-e-Tārikh-e-Urdu, p.28.
14. Urdu-Adab, Aligarh, Issue No.1, 1962, p.10.
15. Burhān, Delhi, Jan. 1963, pp. 1[illegible]-6.
16. A Second Supplementary Handlist of Muhammadan MSS. in the University & Colleges of Cambridge, p. 71.
17. Ethe's Cat. of Persian MSS., p. 961.
18. A Descriptive Cat. of the Oriental MSS. belonging to the late E.G.Browne, pp.253-54.
19. A Descriptive Cat.of Persian, Urdu & Arabic MSS. in the Panjab University Lib., Vol.I,pp.551 & 587.
20. Descriptive Cat.of all MSS. in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Lib. Navsari, p.89.
21. Cat.of Persian, Turkish MSS. in the Bodleian Lib. Oxford, Part II, p. 1518.

22. Ivanow's Cat. of Persian MSS., Vol. II, p.149.

23. The Descriptive Cat. of the Mulla Firus Lib. Bombay, p. 221.

24. A descriptive Cat. of the Islamic MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Lib. Madras, Vol.I, pp. 319-20.

II. The following Tazkiras give the wrong year of Bedil's death:

1. Tazkira-e-Ḥusaini, p. 76: 1130 A.H.
2. 'Iqd-e-Surayyā, p.16-17: 1143 A.H.
3.) Ṣubḥ-e-Gulshan & Hamesha Bahār, 1137 A.H.
&
4.) 1135 A.H. C/o. The Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, p. 35.
5. Majmu'a-e-Istifsār-o-Jawāb, Part 1, p. 291: 1130 A.H.
6. Glimpses of Persian Literature, p.75: 1134 A.H.
7. Ṣanādid-e-'Ajam, p. 333: 1134 A.H.
8. Armughān-e-Pāk, p. 73: 1721 A.D.
9. Qāmusul-Mashāhīr, Part, II, p.66: 4th Ṣafar 1134 A.H.

10. Nigāristān-e-Fārs, p.180; 1193 A.H.
(Muhammad Husain Āzād's mistake is due to the wrong wording of the fourth line (of the fragment) composed by Sayed 'Ali Āzād Bilgrāmi.
میرزا بیدل ازین عالم رفت yields 1193 A.H., while
میرزا بیدل از عالم رفت gives 1133 A.H.,
which is quite correct.)

11. The Shā'ir, Monthly, April/May, 1963, p. 11:
1130 A.H.
(Here the writer Irshād 'Ali has erred obviously. In the beginning of his article on Bedil he maintains that Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. and later gives Bedil's age as seventy-nine years, which means that he died in 1133 A.H. and not in 1130 A.H.

111. The following Tazkiras and magazines give the date and the year of Bedil's death as 3rd Safar 1133 A.H.

1. Sarwe-Āzād, p. 150.
2. Khazāna-e-'Āmera, p. 153.
3. Jalwa-e-Khizr, p. 94-8.
4. Maṭālib-e-Bāng-e-Darā, p. 274.
5. Indo-Iranica Vol.16, No.4 Dec.1963. "Thursday, the 5th of Safar, 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.)" p.41.

6. Dilli kā Dabistān-e-Shā'irī, p. 121.
(Hāshmī quotes Sarwe-Āzād first and gives Khushgo's date of Bedil's death i.e. 4th Ṣafar 1133 A.H. in the foot-note).
7. Sharḥ-e-Bāng-e-Darā, p. 279.

All the statements of Tazkiras help us to fix up or locate the place of Bedil's tomb that he was laid to rest outside the Delhi Gate and the Shahr Panāh (fortifications of the city) in the Ḥaveli of Luṭf 'Alī situated in the Khekaryān lane or the bank of the river Jamunā.

His grave can still be traced or located with the help of the details mentioned by biographers like Khushgo. Today about 247 years have passed since his death (1720 - 1967). It is just possible that during this long period the signs or ruins of his tomb might have completely disappeared, yet a sincere and devoted scholar may find out Bedil's grave or its site.

Let us now examine from historical point of view the period or times through which Bedil's tomb passed. This account is very enlightening and full of mysteries and lessons.

Bedil's death was a big event of the capital and created a stir and shocked the nobles, poets and the masses alike. All

lamented the loss of a great personage like Bedil who was an embodiment of knowledge and learning, philosophy and Ṣufism, morals and character. With Bedil's death Delhi lost all its charm and attraction for his followers and disciples. The noble soul which had illumined and enlightened their minds and hearts for complete thirty-six years with his nocturnal assemblies was no more and his admirers deeply felt the loss. Now the only source of relief and consolation left to his relatives was that they should celebrate his 'Urs annually to keep his memory happy, fresh and alive. Accordingly Bedil's cousin Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id (son of Mirzā 'Abdullāh) was appointed the trustee of his tomb and entrusted with the management of the annual 'Urs. Thus was initiated a ceremony which had great significance for the literary life of Delhi and produced healthy and far-reaching effects. A brief survey of the annual celebrations of Bedil's 'Urs with the course of time will positively be appropriate and interesting here:

Bindrāban Das Khushgo completed both the volumes of his 'Safina' in 1147 A.H., which means the Safina-e- Khushgo was completed about thirteen years after Bedil's death. It gives an account of Bedil's annual 'Urs as follows:-

"On the occasion of Bedil's 'Urs ceremony his Kulliyāt was placed beside his grave. It was prepared in Bedil's life-time at his instance. Every line of it had

four hemistiches and it consisted of 99,000 (Ninety-nine thousand) couplets. It weighed fourteen seers of the day. With the MS. of his Kulliyāt, Bedil's famous staff "Maulāsi"[1] ("a delicate and tender branch") was also placed as a sacred thing. This staff weighed thirty-six seers of Shāhjahān's time, and only a strong man could lift it with both the hands using all his might."[2]

Placing of the Kulliyāt and the staff beside the grave led the people to think that the atmosphere was congenial to revive Bedil's memory. On this occasion all the poets of the city gathered together. At the outset a Ghazal was recited from Bedil's Kulliyāt, and then the poets read out their fresh compositions one by one. Thus a very lively and interesting Mushā'ira was held. Bedil's successor Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id used to be the Master of Ceremonies at the party. Khushgo prays as follows for the continuation of this bright and animated assembly:-

چشمِ بدتفرقه ازان مجمعِ رنگین دُور باد 3

(May the evil eye causing dispersion be averted from that colourful assembly).

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.111: "In Hindi language it means a delicate branch. Dr. 'Abdul Ghani calls it 'Maulāsi' (Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1953), while Qāzi 'Abdul Wadood says, "Tazkiras give different readings of this word. Gul-e-R'anā gives 'Anaulāsi and Dr.Manohar Suhāe 'Anwar' of Delhi also informed that it is correct. انولاسی should be pronounced with و as واؤ مجہول." (See Chapter I for more details). Ma'ārif, July, 1947, p. 51).

2. ibid, pp. 111 & 123. 3. ibid, p. 123.

Nādir Shāh invaded India in 1151/1739. Muḥammad Shāh Rangīlā's utter helplessness, the massacre at Delhi and Nādir Shāh's loot and plunder are quite well-known. On this critical and crucial occasion Niẓāmul Mulk Āṣaf Jāh came up to restore people's confidence and bring orderliness into their life. He was accompanied by his young favourite attendant Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān whose account has been given in Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, Gule-e- Rānā and Tazkira-e- Be-Nazir. He was master of the pen as well as the sword. He was a gifted poet of Urdu and Persian with real literary taste. His master too was a poet and had been Bedil's pupil. Their keen interest in Bedil's annual 'Urs was but natural. Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān's work entitled "Muraqqa-'e- Dehli" contains ample information in this regard. It is in Persian and deals with social life of Delhi of his time. Nawāb[1] Dargāh Qulī Khān has described other (social) activities besides literary assemblies held in1151 A.H. Under the account of Bedil, he writes:

"His grave is situated in a small compound in Old Delhi. The annual 'Urs is held on 3rd Safar. His pupils and the elegant poets of the city attend the function to receive blessings from Bedil's spirit. They form a circle like the circumference of the full Moon. Bedil's Kulliyāt is placed e in the centre and then follows the recitation of Ghazals and verses.[2]

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1 & 2. Momin: - Hālāt-e- Zindagi aur unke Kalām per Tanqidi Nazar, p. 51.

The title-page of Bedil's Kulliyāt contains the following Rubā'i:

اے آئینۂ طبعِ تو ارشادپذیر۔ درکسبِ فوائد نمائی تقصیر
مجموعۂ فکرِ ما صلائے عام است۔ سیری کن و قسمتِ تسلی برگیر

After this every one recites his couplets one by one in accordance with his rank and position, and the audience enjoys them. Bedil's cousin Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id who lacks Bedil's spiritual power starts entertaining the Assembly."[2]

Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān states, under the account of Mirzā Maghar Jān-e- Jānān: "Bedil's 'Urs is celebrated on 3rd Ṣafar . All the poets of Delhi assemble at his tomb. After the inauguration the person who recites Bedil's Ghazal is he(Mirzā Maghar Jān-e-Jānān) only and really speaking, his priority is commendable for the spiritual persons. His Ghazal, right from beginning to end, is heart-rending (full of pathos). - - - "[3]

To the account, given by Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān, Dr. Muḥammad[4] 'Umar adds that the Mushā'ira commences with the recitation of the Rubā'i اے آئینۂ طبعِ تو..... الخ on the day of 'Fātoḥa' (prayers for the dead).

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1. Momin:- Ḥālāt-e- Zindagi aur unke Kalām per Tanqidi Naẓar., p. 51.
2. Muraqqa-'e- Delhi, Ḥabib Ganj MS. leaf 8.
3. Momin- Ḥālāt-e- Zindagi aur unke Kalām per Tanqidi Naẓar, p. 51.
4. Burhān Delhi, July 1965, p.52.

Both Kalab 'Ali Khān Fā'iq (the author of 'Momin') and Dr. Muḥammad 'Umar have quoted the "Muraqqa-'e-Delhi as their source.

Nawāb Durgāh Quli Khān has written a strange remark about the tomb of Bedil:

"تربت موزونِ ایشان در دہلی کہنہ در محوطۂ مختصر بہ رنگِ معنیٔ خاص در الفاظِ رنگین واقع شدہ"[1]

(His pretty tomb is situated in Old Delhi in a small compound, like a peculiar meaning in elegant words).

The extract given above clearly shows how very diligently Bedil's devotees and followers looked after his tomb. The scene which is suggested to the mind by a perusal of the remark quoted above is some what like this: "There was a decent and well-furnished ḥaveli, in the middle of which was situated the grave whose tomb-stone and colour so matched its surroundings that one was led to think of chaste and pure meanin displayed through the elegant words." That is why the very "Turbat" (tomb) instantly transferred the Nawāb's mind to its elegance and exquisite appearance. Perhaps at this time Bedil's lovely tomb was maintained most scrupulously by his followers, and so attracted visitors. Although no dome was constructed over it, the tomb and its surroundings both mirrored the charm of the Moghal art.

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1. Muraqqa-'e- Delhi,
C/o. Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1958, pp. 293-327.

Nawāb Bargāh Qulī Khān's description of Bedil's 'Urs clearly reveals that he is giving us a first-hand account and also describing the ecstatic feeling he experienced at the sight of Bedil's tomb.

According to Mahdi Khān, Nādir Shāh left Delhi via Sirhind (Punjab) on 7th Ṣafar 1152 A.H. after a stay of fifty-seven days in the capital.[1]

After Nādir Shāh's departure, Niẓāmul-Mulk, was in Delhi for two days, i.e. on the 3rd and the 4th Ṣafar 1152 A.H., the dates on which Bedil's annual 'Urs was celebrated. Moreover, history also mentions that Niẓāmul-Mulk prolonged his stay at Delhi by about one and a half years even after the return of Nādir Shāh[2] subsequent to the events referred to above. Hence the statement of Nawāb Bargāh Qulī Khān is exactly like that of an eye-witness.

The Nawāb Ṣāḥeb further adds that at the Mushā'ira Ma'ni Yāb Khān, a favourite pupil of Bedil was the first poet to lead the recitation of Ghazals, and the audience felt delighted with it.

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1. Tārikh-e- Jahāngushā-e- Nādirī, p.247.
Three different editions of this book are before the writer of this thesis. The Bombay and Lahore editions give the date and the period as 7th Ṣafar and fifty-seven days, while the third small edition of 1319 A.H. mentions "8th Ṣafar and seventy-five days."
The first statement is supported by Dr.Khwāja Ahmed Farooqi (Mir Taqi Mir — Ḥayāt aur Shā'iri — p.105) and Dr. 'Abdul Ghani (Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1958, pp. 293 - 327).
2. Siyarul-Mutākhkhirīn, Vol.II, p.111, (Urdu).

Khushgo writes: "Bedil's cousin (Mirzā) Muhammad Sa'id plays the host to the audience and shows great enthusiasm as regards the illumination. He lives on the mere sale of electuaries and pills (various medicines) which were Bedil's inventions in the nature of alchemy, and widely known in Delhi.[1]

Āzād Bilgrāmi[2] and Khushgo state that Ma'ni Yāb Khān was Bedil's most favourite pupil and was the sole spirit behind Bedil's 'Urs. The 'Urs celebrations were at their best until his death, which occurred in 1157 A.H. The information regarding Bedil's tomb, as given above brings us upto 1157 A.H.

Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān[3] mentions Khān-e- Ārzū also in connection with Bedil's 'Urs. He states: "People eager to see Khān-e- Ārzū have the pleasure to see him by chance only, but on the day of the 'Urs celebration, Khān-e- Ārzū being a pupil of Bedil, makes it a point to grace the occasion and attend the Mushā'ira and thus blesses and obliges the people with his chaste and original thoughts expressed in beutiful verses."[4]

Khān-e- Ārzū himself writes about Bedil's 'Urs as follows:

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 243-45.
2. Sarwe-Āzād, pp. 235 - 36.
3. Muraqqa-e- Delhi C/o. Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1958.
4. Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1958, pp. 293- 327.

"کلیاتش روز وفاتش (او) که چهارم شهر صفر باشد و همین تاریخ وفات اوست و مردم هندوستان آن روز چراغان کنند و طعام پخته بخلائیق (کذا) دهند و عرس نامند، پیوسته زیارت کرده میشود."

As is evident from the foregoing lines, both Khushgo and Navāb Dargāh Quli Khān mention Bedil's Kulliyāt. The said Nawab gives 3rd Ṣafar as the date of Bedil's 'Urs, while according to Khān-e- Ārzū it was 4th Ṣafar. As is customary, Bedil's 'Urs might have been celebrated for two days, the first session taking place on 3rd Ṣafar and the second and last one, on 4th Ṣafar. It is probable that his political engagements might have made it possible for the Nawab to attend the 'Urs ceremony on 3rd Ṣafar only. However, both the dates are correct and probable. Khān-e- Ārzū writes about illumination in the city and preparation and distribution of special dishes among the people. This shows that Bedil's 'Urs was celebrated with great devotional zeal and fervour.

Ānand Rām 'Mukhliṣ', a prominent pupil of Bedil writes about Bedil's 'Urs:

"His (Bedil's) tomb is a shrine which 'followers and disciples' feel that they must visit and his 'Urs is

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1. Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1958, pp. 293-327.

celebrated every year."[1] This proves that not only poets and pupils of Bedil but people having faith in Sufism also, attended Bedil's 'Urs. Mukhlis's statement confirms that of Khān-e- Ārzū. Thus Bedil's pupils took part in his annual 'Urs ceremonies actively and enthusiastically for thirty-three or thirty-four years till the death of Mukhlis and Khān-e- Ārzū, which occurred in 1164 and 1169 A.H. respectively. Since Khān-e- Ārzū in his later years had migrated to Oudh[2] and since his migration, he might not have attended the 'Urs any longer.

But despite the death of these two pupils of Bedil, his 'Urs was regularly celebrated every year. Later biographers say nothing regarding Bedil's successor Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id. Probably he too had died by the time those biographies were written or political chaos and disorder might have forced him to take refuge in a safer place. Of his descendants only one, Mirzā Faqlullāh,[3] has been mentioned in the Majmū'a-e- Naghz. He resided at Panipat, and was an Urdu poet. It is likely that either Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id or his descendants being scared by the political changes and upheavals in Delhi, might have settled down at Panipat.

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1. Oriental College Magazine, Nov. 1940; Photo of Mukhlis's handwriting.
2. Khazāna-e-'Āmira, pp. 118.
3. Majmu'a-e- Naghz, Vol.II, p. 179.

So far as Bedil's 'Urs is concerned its celebration definitely continued for twenty years more, since we find its description in the Khazāna-e- 'Āmera[1] also, which Ghulām 'Ali Āzād Bilgrāmi completed in 1171 A.H. / 1757 A.D.

Āzād Bilgrāmi[2] says that he had purchased a manuscript of Bedil's Diwān, copies from the Kulliyāt which was kept permanently on the grave of Bedil. He further quotes a miracle of Bedil, experienced by Mir 'Abdul Jali[3] 'Uzlat'* Surati, who visited Delhi for the first time on 20th[4] Jamadil-ul-Awwal 1164 A.H. So he could not attend Bedil's 'Urs before 3rd or 4th Safar 1165 A.H. 'Uzlat states;

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1. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p. 153.
2. ibid, pp. 153-54.
3. ibid, p. 153.
4. Sarw-e- Āzād, p. 236.

* Mir 'Abdul Wali 'Uzlat'S name is given as Sayed 'Abdul Wās'e by Mir Hasan (Tazkira-e- Sho'arā-e- Urdu p.107), while Mir Taqi, Zor and Āzād mention him as Mir 'Abdul Wali 'Uzlat (Nikātush Sho'arā, p. 92, Dakni Adab Ki Tārikh, p. 13 & Sarw-e- Āzād, p. 236 respectively). He was the son of Sayed Sa'dullāh (قدس سره May his grave be hallowed). He composed verses in Persian also, but was more inclined to the composition of Rekhta poetry. He visited Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Shāh (Tazkira-e- Sho'arā-e- Urdu p.107.)

Mir Taqi has showered praises on him in his anthology. According to Asad 'Ali Tamannā, 'Uzlat passed his later life in Hyderabad and secured a village or two as Jagir by way of pension from the court of Ba'isul-Mulk. He died in 1189/1775 (Gul-e- 'Ajāib, p. 90). He was not only the author of three Diwāns in Urdu, Persian and Hindi, but also a skilled musician and painter. At his instance Nikātush-Sho'arā of Mir was scribed by Sayed 'Abdun-Nabi at Aurangabad on 17th Ramzānul-Mubārak 1172 A.H.

"On the occasion of the annual 'Urs I visited Bedil's tomb. All the poets of Shāhjahānabād were present there. As usual Mirzā's (Bedil's) Kulliyāt was brought and placed in the assembly. I opened the Kulliyāt with the intention of finding whether Bedil (May mercy of God be on him!) knew about my visit or not. The very first page commenced with the following 'opening couplet':

چہ مقدارِ خون در عدم خوردہ باشم ـ کہ بر خاکم آئی و من مُردہ باشم

(How afflicted I would be in the next world, when you visit my grave after my death!)

Nādir Shāh returned to his native land with the well-known Peacock Throne and the wealth he had acquired by looting in Delhi after a general massacre in the Capital.[1]

In spite of all this loot and plunder the elite of Delhi society, which was the very essence of the Moghal regime, did not disperse. That sorry state of affairs developed twenty or twenty-two years after Nādir Shāh's invasion when Ahmad Shāh Abdāli invaded India repeatedly. At last, the Delhi empire was totally paralysed. A war for power and suzerainty broke out among the Moghal nobles. The nobles and grandees were reduced to poverty and sought refuge in Farrukhābād and Lucknow in distress.[2]

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1. Tārikh-e- Jahāngushā-e- Nādiri, p. 245 and p.207. (Bombay Edition of 1265 A.H.).
2. Āb-e- Hayāt, p. 150-51 & Saudā, p. 21.

Gule-Raʿnā[1] has narrated this pathetic account in detail.

Bedil's tomb and his 'Urs celebrations too were subject to this mass destruction indulged in by foreigners. Since Bedil's 'Urs was a burning torch of the Moghal culture, and the literary activities of the Indian Muslims, all possible efforts were made to keep this torch burning against gusts of unfavourable winds. The Ruhillas too created a pandemonium. Ghulām Qādir Ruhila deposed and blinded the poor Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and ordered the Moghal Harem to dance before him.

This incident has been described very elegantly and effectively by Dr. Iqbal[2] in his poem "Ghulām Qādir Ruhilla." Due to Aḥmed Shāh Abdālī's invasion India suffered a lot, the Moghal empire faced complete destruction.[3] Despite most unfavourable and uncongenial circumstances Bedil's annual 'Urs was regularly held. At this time the 'Urs ceremony proved to be a centre for the mutual controversy of Maulāna Mudrat* of Kashmir and Mirzā Muḥammad Rafi' Saudā.[4]

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1. Gule-e- Raʿnā, p. 164.
2. Bāng-e- Darā, p. 237.
3. Āb-e- Hayāt, p. 124.
4. ibid, p. 173.

* At the Mushā'ira held in connection with Bedil's 'Urs Maulāna Mudrat who was not on good terms with Saudā, read out a Ghazal in Persian satirising the latter.

(Continued on next page.)

In the Musaddas Saudā has written (and which he probably recited at the Mushā'ira) he has referred specifically to Bedil thus:

مُسدّس در ہجوِ دخترِ مولوی نذرت کشمیری

سُنا جاتا ہے فنِ شعر میں بھی اتنی ہی قابل ۔ سبق اُس سے پڑھیں استوقت ہوں گر میرزا بیدل
اگر وہ درس دیوے ہم سے نادان کو تو کیا حاصل ۔ سمجھنا مطلعِ ابرو کا اُس کے سخت ہے مشکل
بدقت می توان فہمید معنی ہائے نازِ او
کہ شرحِ حکمت العینست مژگانِ درازِ او [1]

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1. Kulliyāt-e-Saudā, Part I, p. 354.

Its opening couplet ran thus:

خونِ معنیٰ تا رفیعِ بادہ پیما ریختہ ۔ آبروئے ریختہ از جوشِ سودا ریختہ

(Saudā, the toper has shed blood of meaning and thus has humiliated himself through ebullition of madness).
[Āb-e- Ḥayāt, p. 173]

In order to appreciate the satire expressed in the couplet, one has to note the words Rafī' and 'Saudā'.

Saudā too had a master-mind. He turned Nudrat's satirical Ghazal into a Mukhammas and counter-attacked Nudrat himself.

شعرِ ناموزوں سے تو بہتر ہی کہنا ریختہ ۔ کب کہا میں قتلِ مرضوں کسی کا ریختہ
بے حیائی ہی یہ کہنا سُنکے میرا ریختہ ۔ خونِ معنیٰ تا رفیعِ بادہ پیما ریختہ
آبروئے ریختہ از جوشِ سودا ریختہ

The first stanza (Āb-e- Ḥayāt, p.173) of the Mukhammas is that of Khān-e- Ārzū and the rest was composed by Saudā. Saudā had written one more satire on Nudrat in Mukhammas form. The following stanza contains a reference to Bedil's 'Urs:-

ایسی غزل کا عرس میں تم سے جو انصرام ہو ۔ بحر میں جسکی ہر طرح شبہِ خاص و عام ہو
تقطیع اُسکی جس کنے صبح سے تا بہ شام ہو ۔ اُسکی طرف سے آخرش تم کو یہی پیام ہو
گھوڑے کو دو نہ دو لگام منہ کو تنگ لگام دو

(Kulliyāt-e- Saudā, Part I, p.352).

In this way we have historical evidence at our disposal to prove that Bedil's 'Urs was being celebrated upto 1185/1771.* But Saudā,[1] getting fed up with the conditions prevailing in the capital, had to migrate from the native place in 1195 A.H. He first went to Farrukhābād and then to Lucknow where poets held literary assemblies.[2] How then could the 'Urs celebrations be continued when people celebrating it were themselves faced with the problem of life and death ? That is why Ghulām Hamdāni Mushafi writes in his Tazkira completed in 1199/1784 about Bedil's tomb:

"تربتش در صحن خانهٔ خود که حالا خانهٔ ویران محض است واقع شده"[3]

Mushafi's reference shows that the tomb of a gnostic like Bedil, which was once described in most beautiful words by Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān and which attracted his devotees and followers for nearly fifty years was then lying in ruins owing to the revolution of time. To-day, its existence or non-existence is a controversial topic of the day among the learned. Such a fate of the tomb of a poet-philosopher of high rank and a great mystic is really a sad, mysterious and admonitory thing.

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1. Āb-e-Hayāt, p. 151.
2. Urdu Karachi, Jan. 1959, p. 52.
3. 'Iqd-e-Surayyā, p.17.

* Dr. 'Abdul Ghani wrongly gives 1722 A.D. (Nigār Lucknow, May 1959, p. 29-34).

If we take it for granted that the year when Saudā left Delhi was the last year of Bedil's 'Urs too, then Bedil's tomb had been a training centre to the poets of Delhi for fifty-two years; a unique gathering of all the poets of Delhi took place there and grand Mushā'iras were held with the main purpose of benefitting from Bedil's Kulliyāt. In other words Bedil's influence dominated poetry in Delhi for a total period of ninety years (i.e. from 1096 A.H. to 1185 A.H. - 1684 A.D. to 1771 A.D.). After the downfall of the Sayeds of Bārha, the country-wide disorder and chaos forced accomplished learned men, especially from eastern and southern India, to congregate in Delhi, and the Timurid assembly got revived with all its charm and beauty once again before the final dispersion.

Since a regular institution was functioning in Delhi to propagate the influence of Bedil for ninety years, every poet and writer was more or less influenced by it. Even Muhammad Husain Āzād[1] unconsciously acknowledges Bedil's contributions to Urdu.

Mir Taqi Mir, a patriotic poet and a great admirer of the City of Delhi, followed Saudā's example and like him, sorrowfully migrated to Lucknow in 1197/1783.[2] Other luminaries had left Delhi long ago. Thus no care-taker of

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1. Āb-e- Hayāt, pp. 58 & 61.
2. Urdu Karachi, July / Oct., 1953, pp. 293-327.

Bedil's mausoleum remained in the city, as a result of which it first became desolate and then was totally destroyed.[1]

Sir Sayed Ahmed Khān's remarkable book entitled Āsāru-ṣ-Ṣanādid which deals with the account of the monuments of Delhi and the introduction of which was written by Ghālib states nothing about Bedil's shrine. The tombstone was broken and lost due to calamities and the grave was levelled with the ground leaving no trace behind. This is proved by the fact that Mirzā Ghālib, a great admirer and follower of Bedil cherished throughout his life a desire to see the epitaph on the tombstone of Bedil.

گر ملے حضرتِ بیدل کا خطِ لوحِ مزار — آسہ آئینۂ پروازِ معانی مانگے[2]

People had totally forgotten all about Bedil's tomb after Ghālib, but Providence wanted to show one more marvel: Khwāja Ḥasan Niẓāmi while translating the Muraqqa-'e- Delhi into Urdu came across the account of Bedil's 'Urs and a thought crossed his mind that Bedil's tomb should be traced. So in his letter dated 24th April 1947 A.D. from the Office of All India Chishti Party, Delhi, he wrote to Dr. 'Abdul Ghani:

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1. Gulshan-e- Hind, pp. 209-10, Garcin de Tasy follows Luṭf, and Sprenger also says that it was after 1196 A.H. Muhammad Ḥusain Āzād says that Mir left Delhi for Lucknow in 1190/1776 (Āb-e- Ḥayāt, p. 205).
2. Diwān-e-Ghālib Urdu ('Arshi Edition), p. 78.

" I published the Urdu version of the Muraqqa-'e-Dehli with a note that the location of Bedil's grave is shrouded in mystery. Shāh Sulaimān Ṣāḥeb (Phulwari) happened to read it and wrote back to me that Bedil's tomb was opposite the old Fort of Delhi and near the shrine of Malik Nūruddin Yār-e Parrān.

I myself visited the place. Although there was no trace of the tomb, I located the place, and wrote to the Niẓām of Hyderabad for monetary aid to reconstruct it. The Niẓām sent two thousand rupees and the tomb was erected with a gravestone."[1]

The tomb was built by Āṣif Jāh VII (the Seventh) in 1359/1940. The epitaph bears 3rd Ṣafar instead of 4th Ṣafar.

In the light of the account and statements of Khushgo Āzād Bilgrāmi, Nawab Durgāh Quli Khān and Muṣḥafi, it is quite evident that Bedil's new tomb is constructed by Ḥasan Niẓāmi at the wrong place. Ḥasan Niẓāmi located Bedil's tomb in front of the Old Fort on the authority of Shāh Sulaimān (Phulwāri), though according to Khushgo it was outside the Shahr Panāh and the Delhi Gate. These two places lie at a distance of three miles from each other. Besides, Ḥasan Niẓāmi maintains that Bedil's tomb was next

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1. Urdu Mag. Karachi, July/Oct. 1958, pp. 293-327.

to the Shrine of Yār-e-Parrān* which, along with Abu Bakar Tusi's tomb dates back to the Khilji regime.[1] Neither Bedil nor any contemporary of Bedil or a visitor of Bedil's shrine ever mentioned that these important tombs also were situated near Bedil's residence which later became his shrine. This cannot be a mere accident and, therefore, cannot be summarily dismissed. Whenever we describe the situation of a place we naturally mention other well-known places near it. Hence it can be inferred with justification that since the monuments or important shrines of the great saints were not at all adjacent to Bedil's tomb, they were not referred to by anyone while talking about Bedil's shrine. Moreover Āgārus-Ṣanādīd was written in 1947 A.D. and Khwāja Ḥasan Niẓāmi carried on reconstruction of Bedil's tomb in 1359/1940. Now the tomb, the ruins of which could exist in 1940 A.D., inevitably might have been in a far better condition a full century ago. If it is so, both Sir Sayed Ahmed Khān and Ghālib would have definitely mentioned Bedil's tomb in any of their writings; because, Ghalib especially was a great enthusiast and admirer of Bedil and the main object of the book of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khān was to preserve the historical account of such national monuments.

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1. Mazārāt-e-Auliyā-e-Dehli, p.16.

* Shaikh Nūruddin Malik Yār-e-Parrān died in 695 A.H. during the reign of Jalāluddin Khilji. His tomb is four - walled and is to the left side of the road, just opposite the tomb of Shaikh Abu Bakar Ṭūsi and has a marble tombstone. (Same as *1 above.*)

No modern book like the 'Gharābat Nigār or the Wāqi'āt-e- Dārul- Hukumat-e- Dehli containing the history of Delhi gives any account of Bedil's tomb. This makes it quite evident that the ravages of time have completely effaced it in such a way that it is well-nigh impossible to trace it out on the bare surface of the earth and thus see the irony of fate that made Khwāja Ihsan Nizāmi reconstruct it in a totally wrong place.

Khwāja 'Ibādullāh,[1] the author of the valuable book 'Bedil' out of sheer devotion and a strong desire to offer prayers at Bedil's grave, made a vigorous search for it during his stay in Delhi in 1940 A.D. He was told that Bedil's tomb was adjacent to or adjoining the Race Course. As directed, he followed the road leading to the shrine of Nizāmuddin Auliyā and reached the shrine. When he inquired there with the attendants of the shrine they said, "Please follow this very road, but now in the reverse direction. You will come across the tomb of Matke Shāh first at a higher level to the right side. There you will find earthen pots suspended from long sticks (bamboos). Exactly facing it there is a graveyard where the poet Bedil is enjoying eternal sleep." The attendants, Khwāja 'Ibādullāh adds, knew Bedil as a poet and not as a Sufi. Even after a great deal of searching he could

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1. Bedil, pp. 109 - 14.

not trace Bedil's tomb. He, in a state of utter disappointment and despair, offered prayers, standing near some grave, and returned to the city, because he could do nothing more.

After a month he happened to pass by the same graveyard and lo, the grave at which he had offered prayers a month ago had now turned into a new concrete one and the following line was inscribed on it in a clear bold hand:-

مرقدِ مرزا عبدالقادر بیدل رحمۃ اللہ علیہ 1

(The tomb of Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir (May God's mercy be on him!)

Thus Khwāja 'Ibādullāh too was unable to locate Bedil's tomb and mistook the one, reconstructed by Khwāja Ḥasan Nizāmi to be that of Bedil.

About the year 1954 A.D. a claim was advanced in Kabul that Bedil's tomb was situated in that city. Dr. Muḥammad Shafi' , the Director of the Urdu Encyclopaedia (Lahore) wrote to Dr. 'Abdul Ghani on 26th January 1957 A.D.: "It has appeared in the historical magazines of Kabul that Kabul enjoyed the privilege of having the graves of Bedil and his parents there. If you are interested in this matter, kindly enter into correspondence with Āqā-e- 'Abdul Ḥai Ḥabibi Afghani at Karachi. Mr. Ḥabibi sent an enlightening reply

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1. Indo-Iranica, Dec. 1963 (See photo of Bedil's tomb).

to Dr. 'Abdul Ghani, relevant extracts from which are reproduced here for our purpose:

" در مجلهٔ آریانه سه شمارهٔ اخیر مقالاتی که بر بیدل و مزارش چاپ شده و سید محمد داؤد حسینی خطاط معروف افغانی مدعی گردیده که استخوان بیدل را در عصر احمد شاه ابدالی به کابل انتقال داده اند و در خواجه رواش شمالی کابل مدفون است . . . . . آقای خلیل و آقای عالمشاهی در همان مجله آریانه دو مضمون نوشتند . . . . . و ادعای سید داؤد را رد کردند و با دلائل واضح ساختند که قبر بیدل در کابل نیست . . . . . قبریکه در دهلی از طرف حسن نظامی تعیین و تعمیر شده نیز حقیقی ندارد زیرا که آخرین قبر را مصحفی ۶۳ سال بعد وفات بیدل داده که خانهٔ مخروبه اش در دهلی بود و تعیین مصحفی ابداً با قبریکه حسن نظامی شهرت داده موافقت ندارد . . . . . برخی از کابلیان در مسیر جذبات شدید عقیدت با بیدل خواسته اند به جعل و تزویر عظام رمیم او را بکابل قرار دهند . ولی این ادعا ابداً و اصلاً با حقائق تاریخی و روتیهٔ تحقیق منافی است "

It is desirable to clear a point here: if it were true that Ahmed Shāh Abdāli removed Bedil's sacred remains to Kabul, then Mushafi would never have written that Bedil's tomb was situated inside his desolate mansion. This inference is based on the historical fact that Ahmed Shāh Abdali invaded India 1175/1761 for the first time and his invasions continued till 1767 A.D., while Mushafi completed his 'Iqde- Suruyā in 1199/1784.

Dr. 'Abdul Ghani visited Kabul during the summer of 1951 A.D. in connection with the research on Bedil. There he met besides Sayed Muhammad Dā'ud Khān Khaṭṭāṭ, many Afghān writers and poets such as Mr. Sardār Faiz Muhammad Khān Zakriyā, Sarwar Khān Goyā, Ustād Khalil and Hāshim Shā'iq Afandi. He further states that during his discourse on Bedil Sayed Muhammad Dā'ūd never told him that Bedil was buried in Kabul.

In the spring of 1963 A.D. Āqā-e- Sarwar Khān 'Goyā' on his way to attend some cultural conference in India, halted at Lahore. During his meeting with Āqā-e- Sarwar Khān Dr. 'Abdul Ghani told him that Khwāja Ḥasan Nizāmi erected Bedil's tomb at the wrong place, and gave reasons for his argument or statement. After his journey when Āqā-e- Sarwar returned to Kabul, he perhaps talked to people over there

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1. Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1950, pp. 293-327.

about the doubts expressed by Dr. 'Abdul Ghani regarding Bedil's tomb. This served as a fine excuse and opportunity to the people of Kabul, to hold it proved that Kabul was both Bedil's birth-place as well as the abode of his eternal rest, and claim a poet whom they greatly admire.

Dr. 'Abdul Ghani remarks that the attempts of some Afghān writers to prove Bedil to be an Afghān, and Kabul to be his burial-place constitute from literary point of view a very irresponsible act on their part.

Tuḥfatul Aḥbāb fi Tazkiratul Aṣḥāb[1] published from Tashkent in 1232/1816 did contain the names of the imitators of Bedil in Central Asia, but did not mention at any place that Bedil's tomb too was somewhere (there) in Kabul.

Taking into account all the remarks and statements mentioned above, it may be asserted that Bedil was buried in Delhi, though the location of his tomb has not been rightly determined so far. Of course, its location can be decided in the light of the account of the biographers like Khushgo who had seen Bedil's tomb with their own eyes.

One feels as if the soul of Bedil is smiling playfully at the confusion and helplessness of his admirers in unearthing

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1. Urdu Karachi, July/Oct. 1958, p. 293 - 327.

نہان ماندیم چو معنی بہ چندین لفظِ پیدائی

(He remained concealed like the meaning which lies hidden in so many tangible words).

CHAPTER IV

NOTABLE DEDIL'S CONTEMPORARIES

1. 'Ghani' Kashmiri:- (d. 1079/1668) Mirzā Muhammad Tahir[1] was born in the 3rd reignal year of Shah Jahan. (غنی از قبیلهٔ اشتی است)[2]

He was a pupil of Shaikh Muḥsin Fāni, whom he excelled in learning and became an elegant poet.[3] Ghani[4] started taking lessons from Mullā Muḥsin as soon as he was old enough to do so. Muḥsin himself was a saint and a companion of Dārā Shikoh.

"Ghani" is a chronogram yielding 1060/1650, the year in which he first began to compose poetry, but this is not necessarily the year indicating the beginning of his poetry. His Dīwān contains a chronogram on the death of the poet 'Ilāhi' which gives 1052 A.H., and has 'Ṭāhir' as his takḥallus.[5] (گفت تاریخ وفاتش طاهر - بردالهی زجهان گوی سخن). This means that both Ṭāhir and Ghani were his poetical names. All the three poets Kalim, Ṣā'ib and Ghani lived together for a long time and held poetic symposiums.[6]

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1. (i) Armughān-e- Pāk, p.67; (ii) Nigāristān-e- Fārs, p.183.
2. Sham-'e- Anjuman C/o She'rul 'Ajam and Tārikh-e- Kashmir-e- A'zami (p.171) gives از قبیلهٔ اشائیهاست.
3. Kalemātush-Sho'arā, p.93 (Footnote).
4. 'Alamgir Lahore, Special Issue, 1940 p.213.
5. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p.72.
6. She'rul 'Ajam Part III, p.199.

The author of Ātishkadah has taken very little notice of him:[1]

"غنی (کشمیری) صاحب دیوانست اما از تمام کلیات او این یک شعر ملاحظه و نوشته شد بدنگفته ؎
تا صد چه احتیاج کند طومار روزگار ـ چون بارشد رسد بدرازی کوی او"

while Mirzā[2] Ṣā'ib had copied down 200 couplets in his own "bayāz" from Ghani's Diwān. Ghani[3] himself selected only 2000 couplets out of his one lakh couplets for his Diwan and threw the rest into the river. Ṣā'ib[4] offered his whole Diwān for the following single couplet of Ghani, which he liked most:

حسن سبزی بخط سبز مرا کرد اسیر ـ دام همرنگ زمین بود گرفتار شدم

But at the end of the published Diwān of Ghani this desire is expressed by Vedil also.[5] Not only Kashmir, but even India did not produce a poet with subtle ideas comparable to Ghani's.[6]

Muḥammad[7] 'Ali Māhir while editing Ghani's Diwān, retained easy simple and fine couplets only. Hence there is hardly a complete Ghazel in the Diwan. One 'Muslim' is also known as the editor of Ghani's Diwan. As prophesied by him the fame of Ghani's poetry travelled to Iran, Turan, Turkey and Syria.[8]

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1. Ātishkadah-e- Āzar, p.365.
2. Diwān-e- Ghani (Naval Kishore Ed.), Introduction.
3. ibid.
4. (i) ibid, (ii) Nigāristān-e- Fārs, p.193, (iii) Tazkira-e- Ḥusaini, p.229.
5. Ma'ārif, July 1966, p.23.
6. Kalemātush-Shoarā, p.33-4.
7. She'rul-Ajam, fil Hind, p.78.
8. Nigāristān-e- Fārs, p.182.

Subtlety and punning are the salient features of his poetry. Khushgo[1] calls him the leader of punsters. He is the creator of a new style in the Persian poetry of India and has added beauty to the traditional poetry. Nearly every couplet of Ghani contains an allegory or a simile. He moulded such poetry into a thing of beauty.[2]

It is said that the Emperor 'Ālamgir wrote to Saif Khān, the governor of Kashmir to send Ghani to him. Ghani refused to go, telling him at the same time to inform the Emperor that Ghani had become insane and was not worthy to be sent into his presence. Saif Khān refused to do so; upon which Ghani was so upset that he really went mad, tore his clothes, and died after three days.[3] He died young and enjoyed a brilliant reputation for poetical excellence for about 13 years.

Qudsi, Salim and Ṣā'ib were friends of Ghani who had close relations with Kalim and Amirul Umerā Islām Khān. Ghani died probably, a bachelor.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 38 & 348.
2. She'rul-'Ajam, Part III, p.198.
3. (i) Nigāristān-e- Fārs, p.182.
   (ii) She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p.77.

On the death of Saif Khan in 1095 A.H. Nāṣir 'Ali returned to Sirhind,[1] where one day, while drinking wine, he met Shaikh Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, in a garden. When scolded by Shaikh for indulging in drinking, 'Ali was rude to him. The former (Shaikh) went away quietly and the learned men and Ṣufis then prepared a Mahzar (Public attestation or a charge-sheet) for his murder. It was Mir Muḥammad Zamān Kāsikh who, and his relatives formed themselves into a fully armed party and escorted 'Ali to Delhi and thus saved his life. Afterwards 'Ali repented of his misconduct and learnt Ṣufism from Shaikh Maʿṣūm.[2]

Safina-e- Khūshgō does not mention any of these incidents. Nāṣir 'Ali was also called Shaikh an account of his abstinence. He was, by natural inclination a revivalist.[3] He had attained a high proficiency in the exoteric and esoteric sciences, and belonged to the Naqshbandi Sect.[4]

In 1101 A.H. he tried, in vain, to join the army of Aurangzeb and so attached himself with Nawab Zul Fiqār Khān.[5] Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād has a different tale to tell. He says he was sent for by 'Ālamgir, but he avoided meeting the Emperor on the pretext of being insane.[6]

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1. Khazāna-e- Amera, p.328.
2. (i) Khazāna-e- 'Amera, p.329.
   (ii) Sheʿrul 'Ajam, Part II, p.136.
   (iii) Amir Khusrau, pp. 332 & 342.
3. Moghal Tahzīb, p.91.
4. Hindustāni, Allahabad, Oct, 1937, p.408.
5. Khazāna-e- 'Amera, p.329.
6. Nigāristān-e- Fārs, p.157.

Āzād Bilgrāmi[1] states that in 1100 A.H. he went to Bijapur in the Deccan from Sirhind and joined the service of Zul Fiqār Khān who respected and honoured him.

Nāṣir 'Ali had a liking for Ghaẓanfar 'Ali Khān, the ruler of the suburbs of Arākāt. At Kānchi he became a disciple of one Ṣufi Shāh Ḥamid. At last he returned to Delhi, proclaimed himself to be a Quṭb and a friend of Bu'Ali Qalander.

He died at Delhi in March, A.D. 1697 (Ramẓān 1108 A.H.) and was buried near the Mausoleum of Niẓāmuddin Aulia.[2]

Bedil composed the following chronogram on his death:
(1108 A.H.) رنگِ ناز شکست
But Sarkhush's chronogram آه علی بجالِ معنی رفت gives 1109 A.H. According to Āzād Bilgrāmi[3] he died at the age of 60. From this we may infer that his birth-date should be roughly 1048 A.H.

He had been a favourite of Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān probably when the latter was the governor of Sirhind.[4] In the beginning of the 12th century A.H. when Bedil's poetry had reached the climax of its popularity, 'Ali arrived in

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1. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p.329.
2. (i) Safina-e- Khushgo, p.2.
   (ii) Tazkiratush-Sho'arā, p.92.
   (iii) An Oriental Biographical Dictionery, p.294.
3. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p.330.
4. Mirātul-Khayāl, pp.292-305.

Delhi from the Deccan. He could not compete with Bedil since his creative faculties were growing weaker due to old age.[1]

An instance of the literary controversy over a Ghazal of Shukrullāh Khān is given by Sher[2] 'Ali Khān in his Tazkira. Nāṣir 'Ali instigated his friend Mohammed Afẓal Sarkhush against Bedil on different occasions out of sheer jealousy and envy.

As Nāṣir 'Ali had lost mental balance, he very often behaved rudely and peevishly with people. Khushgo records two such instances in his Safina.[3]

Once 'Ali composed a Ghazal and challenged the poets of Delhi to write one of equal merit.[4] Bedil himself did not care to compete, but asked his pupil 'Ibrat to compose a rejoinder just to humiliate Nāṣir 'Ali. Āzād[5] says, "'Ibrat did so at the instance of his friends."

Internal evidence shows that 'Ali remained a bachelor throughout his life.[6]

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1. (i) Khushgo's statement in Ma'ārif, July, 1946, p.42.
   (ii) Safina-e- Khushgo, p.2.
2. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, pp. 204, 372, 383.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.2.
4. Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1932, pp.29-30 and Mirātul-Khayāl, p.294.
5. Nigāristān-e- Fārs, p.160.
6. Sh'erul- 'Ajam fil Hind, p.102.

* Not found in Bedil's Kulliyāt.

Muḥammad[1] 'Āshiq Himmat, Shaikh 'Abdul Wāḥid Wahshat, Arshad 'Ali Rasāi were his pupils, Khwāja 'Abdur Raḥim 'Ābid, Rafi' Khān Bāgil, Sarkhush, Mir Mo'izz Fiṭrat and Miyān Ṣādiq Ilqā were his friends, while Shāh Muḥammad Afẓal 'Afẓal, Maulvi Muḥammad Sa'eed l'Jāz and Abu Turāb 'Ghubār' were his contemporaries.

He wrote prolific verse and has left a Dīvān[2] of 2000 verses and a Maṣnawi. His Maṣnawi[3] in praise of 'Ālamgir is in two volumes and is preserved in the British Museum Library.

Nāṣir 'Ali imitated the style of Ṣā'ib and followed Ḥāfiẓ and Rūmī in his beliefs.

3. Mūsawi Khān Fiṭrat - (b. 1050/1640 Circa - d. 1101/1690)

His proper name was Mirzā Mo'izz or Mo'izzuddin Muḥammad.[4] He was a Sayyad and lineal descendant of 'Ali Mūsā Razā. Sarkhush calls him خلاصۂ دودمانِ مرتضوی ("Essence of 'Ali's dynasty"). He was born in Persia and hailed from Qum. He was a good poet, and had at first assumed Fiṭrat for his poetical name, but afterwards changed it to

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.31, 38, 190, 20, 56, 72 & 277 respectively.
2. Shé'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p.105.
3. Rieu's Cat. of Persian MSS. C/o.2 above, p.102.
4. (i) Sho'rul 'Ajam fil Hind p.36. Foot note.
   (ii) Kalemātush Sho'arā p.98 Foot note.
   (iii) Sarw-e- Āzad, p. 126
5. Same as 4(ii) above.

Muswi, to which the title of Khān was added by the Emperor 'Ālamgir who employed him as Diwān of Suba-e- Bihār at 'Aẓimābād.[1] In view of his noble birth, the emperor had married his sister[2] and, 'Gauhar' says 'Aurangzeb married him to Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafawi's second daughter and thus honoured him by making his own ہم زلف[3] (wife's sister's husband). In India he was much esteemed for his talents as a poet and a critic. He regarded himself as matchless in معقولات و منقولات (logic and metaphysics).

من مرغِ خوش ترانۂ باغِ فضیلتم - طبعِ مرا بزمزمۂ شاعری چہ کار

Persians have rarely spoken highly of Indian poets of Persian language, but Mūswi, unlike his countrymen, praised them, as e.g. Ghani, Nāṣir 'Ali and Sarkhush very much.[4] Mir Hāshim Maẓmūn (Mashrabi),[5] Mirzā Quṭbuddin Māil and Mir Muḥammad 'Alim 'Taḥqeeq[6] were his pupils and he had a close friendship with Mullā Muḥammad Sa'eed Ashraf and Sarkhush.[7] He is the author of a Tazkira (or a biography) called Gulshan-i-Fitrat[8] and also of a Diwān (Collection). He died in the Deccan at the age of 51.[9] His Jagir at Agra

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1. Bihār men Urdu Zabān-o- Adab kā Irtiqā, p.206.
2. (i) Gul-e-Raʿnā, p.29; (ii) Nigāristān-e-Fārs, p.163.
3. Sukhanwarān-e- Baland Fikr. p.31.
4. Sukhanwarān-e- Baland Fikr,p.31 & Kalemātush- Sho'arā p.99-10
5. Tuhfatul-Kirām, Vol. II, p.21.
6. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.11 & 257.
7. ibid, p.19 & 72.
8. Qāmus-ul Mashāhir, Vol.II, p.128.
9. Tazkiratush-Sho'arā, p.102 and Dāstān-e- Tārikh-e- Urdu,p.28

extended from the Kachori ghāt to the Dargāh of Sayyad near the Rājghat. The ground contained nearly 300 bighas.[1]

4. Qizilbāsh Khān 'Ummid':- His proper name was Mirzā Muḥammad Razā.* Khushgo[2] remarks that his real birth-place was Isfahān and Mir[3] Ḥusain Dost and Āzar[4] say that he hailed from Hamdān. He came to India in the early reign of Muḥammad Shāh (درعهدِ خلد مکان) and was honoured with the title of Qizilbāsh Khān[5] at the time of Shāh 'Ālam.[6] He was a pupil of Mirzā Ṭāhir Waheed who was the cousin of 'Ālamgir's prime minister Nawab Asad Khan.[7] He was looked upon as an accomplished poet of his time. Mir Husain calls him a poet more renowned than the Sun.

He subsequently served under Mubāriz Khān, Governor of Haiderabad, and after him under Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣif Jāh;[8] He[9] was for a long time, the Governor of the fort Mani Mirak in Karnatak on the bank of the river Krishna.

He died in 1159/1746[10] but Khushgo records this year as 1160 A.H. He was very social, possessed amiable manners

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.284.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.250.
3. Tazkira-e- Ḥusain, p.47.
4. Ātishkada-e- Āzar, p.385.
5. Sarw-e- Āzād, p. 209 and 2 above.
6. ibid and Chamanistān-e- Sho'arā, p.28.
7. Same as 3 above.
8. Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.318.
9. Sarwe- Āzad, p.209.
10. (i) Sarw-e-Āzād, p.210, (ii) Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.318, (iii) Safina-e-Khushgo p.250, (iv) Nuskha-e- Dilkushā, Vol.1, p.33.

* Āzar gives his name simply as Āqā Razā.

and had such a luxurious life that he spent all his income from his 'Jagir' to patronise poets and musicians, although he himself was a good musician and knew the Persian and Indian systems of musical compositions.

Ummid was good natured, romantic, witty and very intelligent, and had command over prose and poetic composition.[1]

He held either a Mushā'ira or a musical programme every day, at his residence.

He left a Diwān in Persian,[2] and composed lyrics in Rekhta also.[3]

Sarw-e- Āzād contains his life-account in detail.

5. Mirzā 'Abdul Ghani Qubūl:-[4] He was a native of Kashmir. He was a poet of high rank, and expert punster His experiments in different forms of poetic composition have been highly successful. He was a Ṣufi and one of the pupils of Mirzā Dārab Baig Joyā,[5] the brother of Goyā.[6] He came to Delhi at the time of Farrukh-Siyar and led the

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1. Sukhanwarān-e- Baland Fikr, p.3?.
2. (i) Cat. of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, Vol.I, p.923.
   (ii) Ātishkadah-e- Āzar, p. 385.
3. (i) Gulshan-e- Hind. p.20; (ii) Majmū'a-e- Naghz.Vol.1.p.7
4. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.151-55; Sarw-e- Āzād, p.197-98.
5. Tazkiratush-sho'arā, p.107.
6. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.312.

life of a dervish (mendicant) in the old fort of Delhi, built by Feroz Shāh.[1] He was very hospitable, generous, and greeted the poor and the poets with great warmth and treated them without any discrimination. He wrote elegant Qasidas in praise of the nobles of the time, especially Nizāmul Mulk, the Prime Minister and Bakhshiyul-Mulk Samsāmud Daula and when the former visited the Bakshi's house, he presented it to him. Both of them appreciated it. He wrote Qasidas in praise of Mir Jumla Tar Khān and received great rewards. He died in 1138 A.H.,[2] but Āzād[3] holds 1139 A.H. to be the year of his death; it was early in the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam, and in support of his statement Āzād quotes the following chronogram of some historian:

گنجِ معنی بود کرد افلاک در زیرِ زمین

Other biographers also record 1139 A.H.[4] Since Khushgo, who is one of such biographers, frequently called on him to receive his blessing, his statement must be more authentic.

He has left one fine Diwān. He devoted all his energy to the art of punning.

Khushgo mentions ten of Qubūl's pupils among whom are two sons of Qubūl also.

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1. Tazkiratush-Sho'arē, p.107.
2. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.312 and 1 above.
3. Sarwe-e- Āzād, p.197-98.
4. (i) Tazkiratush-Sho'arā, p.107.
   (ii) Oriental Biog. Dict. But Beale gives 1139/1726 on page 3 and 1136/1726 on page 312. The second Hijri year may be a misprint.

Qubūl[1] was an associate of Shāh Gulshan and a close friend and benefactor of Ḥakim Shaikh Ḥusain Shuhrat.

6. Mir Shamsuddin Muḥammad Faqir of Delhi:- (b. 1115 A.H. Circa d. 1183/1769). He was born in Delhi in 1115 A.H. He was a descendant of Bani 'Abbās, but called himself a Sayed.[2] In 1141 A.H. he became a derwish and adopted Faqir as his pen-name. For a long time he taught students and had a long succession of them studying under his guidance.[3] Then he first went to Lucknow and from there to Aurangābād in 1180 A.H. After one year's stay at Aurangābād he arrived at Surat in 1181 A.H. , from where he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca at the time of Shāh 'Ālam. After the visit to Mecca and on the way home he visited Baṣrā also and was drowned.[4]

Mir Ḥasan[5] refers to his death in:

"درینولا لبطرف کربلائے معلّٰی تشریف بُردہ بُود ہمانجا بجوارِ رحمتِ ایزدی پیوست"

Mir Ḥasan uses the word درینولا which points roughly to the date* of the compilation of Mir Ḥasan's Taẓkira i.e.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.245 & 202.
2. Ātishkada-e- Āzar, p. 306, and Sukhanwarān-e- Baland Fikr, p.224.
3. Sukhanwarān-e- Baland Fikr, p.224.
4. (i) Sukhanwarān-e- Baland Fikr, p.224,
   (ii) Bayāẓe-Sukhan, p.9.
   (iii) Gulshan-e- Hind, p.129.
5. Taẓkira-e- Sho'arā-e- Urdu, p.142.

* The year is given approximately.

Fakir died in 1183/1769* [1] and hence Lutf's remark that he was drowned in 1117 A.H. is not correct.[2] Moreover according to Amrullāh of Allahabad, Faqir was born in 1115 A.H.[3] Hence 1117 A.H. cannot be the year of Faqir's death.

He was an elegant, eloquent, imaginative and accomplished poet with noble qualities. He was well-versed in the intricacies of rhyme and prosody, and knew the subtleties of figures of speech well. He left many treatises including Hadāiqul-Balēghat, two Maşnawis and a Divān in which all verse-forms are employed.[4] He has versified most elegantly all the miracles of 'Ali.

He had good knowledge of the colloquial speech of the Persians, who considered his poetry 'authentic' and flawless like a gem.

Well-known among his disciples in poetics are Shāh[5] Qudratullāh, 'Qudrat', Mir Qamruddin Minnat[6] and Mir Farzand-e- 'Ali[7] 'Mausūn' Sāmānwi.

He is the author of a Maşnawi called Taşwir-e-Muhabbat, containing the story of Rām Chand, the son of a betel-vendor, (composed in 1156/1743), and of several other poems.[8] He was also known by the pen name "Maftūn".[9]

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1. Dastūrul Fasāhat, p.68.
2. Gulshan-e- Hind, p.129.
3. Masarrat Afzā C/o. Mu'āşir, Patna, July 1954.
4. Tazkiratush Sho'arā, p.103.
5. Majmū'a-e- Naghz, Vol. II, p.123.
6. ibid, p.215 and Tazkiratush-Sho'arā, p.215.
7. ibid, p.227.

* Beale gives 1767 A.D. (An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.128)

8&9. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.128.

7. Mirzā Muḥammad 'Ali 'Māhir' Akbarābādi:-[1] He was one of the poetic 'masters' اساتذہ of his time. He made progress in poetry in the company of Kalim, Qudsi and Mir Yaḥyā. For some time he was the companion of Dānishmand Khān Shafi'ā Yazdi and then attached himself to Dārā Sikhoh who conferred on him the title of Murid Khān. It is not known whether he had any connection with 'Ālamgir's court; all the same he wrote, in 'Ālamgir's praise, a book entitled Gule-aurang modelled upon the style of Ẓuhūri.

As he was a contented man with Ṣufistic tendencies he renounced the world and became a recluse. He is the author of a Diwān, which was edited by Sarkhush and a few Maṣnawis, one of which is Jāmi' Niṣhātin in the metre of Tuḥfatul 'Irāqain by Khāqāni.

He wrote a short Maṣnawi in praise of Jahān Āra Begum, the daughter of Shāh Jahān and sent it to her through 'Ināyat Khan, 'Āshna! The princess appreciated it very much and gave the poet a reward of Rs.500/- .

8. Nimat Khan-e- 'Āli:-[2] (Mirzā) Muḥammad or Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Shiraz, famous in Persian Literature as Ni'mat Khān-i- 'Āli, was born in India. A poet of no mean order,

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1. (i) Kalemātush Sho'arā p.103-4.
   (ii) Sarwe- Āzad, p.112-13.
   (iii) Gazn-e- Taimuriyah, p.273-74.
   (iv) Mirātul-Khayāl, pp.205-7.
2. foll. 154-155b of the collected work of Ni'mat Khān-i-'Āli (No.18) Deccan College Library, Poona.

Ni'mat Khān practised medicine in the earlier part of his career. Hence it was that he had adopted 'Ḥakim' as his takhallus, but changed it later on to 'Ālī, at the suggestion of his tutor, Nawwāb Dānishmand Khān.[1] In 1104 or 1105/1692-94, he received from Aurangzeb the title of Ni'met Khan and was appointed the Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen. Later he also received title of Muqarrab Khān from the same Emperor. On this occasion, he was promoted to the post of keeper of the Crown jewels. During the reign of Shāh 'Ālam he received the additional title of Dānishmand Khan and was ordered to write a history of Shāh 'Ālam's reign; the account was never completed. He had hardly written an account of the first two years of Shāh 'Ālam's reign, when, in 1121/1709 he died. According to one account he was buried at Hyderabad, and according to another in Delhi.

Ni'mat Khān-e- 'Ālī was a prolific writer and he has been credited with the following works:

1) Waqā-i-Hyderābād, his most famous account of the events of eight days during the siege of Golconda-Hyderābād, written in a most satirical vein. This work has been published a number of times.

2) Jang Nāma, an account of the war between the sons of Aurangzeb.

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1. foll. 154-155b of the Collected work of Ni'mat Khān-e-'Ālī, (No.13), Deccan College Library, Poona.

(3) Shāh Nāma, Bāshāh Nāma or Bahādur Shāh Nāma, incomplete account of the first two years of Shāh 'Ālam's reign, mentioned above.

(4) Risāla Dar Hajw-e-Hukamā.

(5) Kadkhudā-e-Husn wa 'Ishq (or Husn wa'Ishq), in mixed prose and poetry.

(6) A Diwān comprising Ghazals, Qasida, etc.

(7) Letters.

(8) A commentary on Qurān in Persian, extremely rare.

(9) A treatise on the Science of Medicine.

In addition to the above, Ni'mat Khān has been credited with another work, called Khwān-e-Ni'mat (a book on Cookery). But there is probably some mistake. In the note of W.Pertsch, Berlin Cat. p.343 on the strength of which even Rieu has been tempted to connect part of a volume described by him (See, Vol.i, 792, VII) with the alleged work of Ni'mat Khān, the so-called Khwān-e-Ni'mat. The fact appears to be this that while the author lived under the patronage of Aurangzeb, whatever works he had written by that time he collected together in one volume and wrote an introduction (Khutba) to it in ornate prose, mixed with poetry (called in the MSS. خطبۂ دیوان عالی مخاطب بنعمت من کلامہ) In this Khutba he names this collection Khwān-e-Ni'mat (خوان نعمت):

" مخاطب بآنست مجموعهٔ نظم و نثر را خوانِ نعمت نام کرده ، توقع از لذّت شناسان مایده این معنی آنکه حقِ نمکِ سخن را نگهدارند.... الخ "

(مخطوطه ورق ۱۵۰ ب، ۱۵۱ الف)

Sprenger, however, did not fall into this trap and rightly called this collection Khawān-e- Ni'met, containing prose and poetic works, of an author composed up to the time when he was the bearer of the title of Ni'met Khān.

9. Chandrabhān Brahman:- Chandrabhān (poetically called Barhaman), the son of Dharamdās, a Brahmin of Patiala, was born at Lahore. After studying Persian under Mullā 'Abdul-Karim, he became secretary to Mullā Shukrullāh Shirāzi, entitled Afẓal Khān, who was appointed in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign as Wazir-e-Kul . Chandrabhān was appointed the Royal Chronicler on the death of his master in 1049/1639-39. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambūh, author of the 'Amal-e-Ṣāliḥ, mentions him among the important poet and prose writers of Jahāngir's court. Chandrabhān was later sent on a mission to Bijāpur by Shāh Jahān. The celebrated author Prince Dārā Shikoh, for whom he acted as Munshi for some time, was a great admirer of his literary genius. Chandrabhān retired to Benares after the death of the above

prince and died, according to the Tazkira-e-Lodi[1] in 1073/1662-63; but others place his death in 1068/1657-58.

Chandrabhān was a prolific writer, and states in the introduction to his work Munshaāte Brahman, that he was the author of number of works among which are:

1) Tuhfatul Fuqahā
2) Majma'ul Wusarā
3) Kārnāma
4) Chahār Chaman
5) Guldasta
6) Tuhfatul-Wuzarā
7) Divān

10. Sarmad:[2] He was originally a Jew or rather, a Rabbi (Jewish Doctor of the Law), but he embraced Islam and came to India as a merchant; when he reached Thatta, he fell so passionately in love with a Hindu boy, named Abhi Chand,*

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1. Mirātul-Khayāl, p.140.
2. (i) Nigāristān-e- Fārs, p.196.
   (ii) Armughān-e- Pāk, p.66.
   (iii) Ātashkada-e- Āzar, p.249.
   (iv) Mirātul-Khayāl, p. 140.
   (v) She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, p. 38 (Footnote).
   (vi) Hayāt-e- Sarmad, pp. 5-26.
   (vii) Majmu'a -e-Istifsār-o-Jawāb, pp.209-20.

* Beale wrongly says, " - - - he fell - - - in love with a Hindu girl. - - "
(An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 353).

that he become distracted and took his seat stark naked at the house of the boy, who subsequently developed an attachment for him. Sarmad was, however, a Sufi, and was so deeply immersed in mysticism that he became oblivious of himself and of the world. In this condition he came to Delhi during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and moved about the the city naked. This could not be tolerated when Aurangzeb ascended the throne, but Sarmad disobeyed the royal order and was put to death. Some say that the real cause of his execution was the following Rubā'i:-

هر کس که سرِّ حقیقتش پا در شُد - او بهتر از سپهر بهنا ور شُد
مُلّا گوید که بر فلک شُد احمد - سرمد گوید که فلک بر احمد شُد

(The Mullās say that Muhammad entered the heavens but Sarmad says that the heavens entered Muhammad).

On the authority of Sarkhush, Muhammad Husain Āzād calls Sarmad an associate of Bedil, Nāsir 'Ali[1] etc.

His tomb is opposite the eastern gate of the Jāmi' Masjid of Delhi and is revered as that of a saint. Sarmad was also a poet and is generally known by his nom-de-plume. His regal

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1. Nigāristān-e- Fārs, pp. 198-99.

name is said to have been Muhammad Sa'id; he seems to have assumed it when he embraced Islam.[1]

11. Dārā Shikoh:- He was the eldest and favourite son of Shāh Jahān and was born in 1024/1615 at Ajmer. 'Abdul Latif Sultanpuri, Mulla Meerak, Shaikh Birbhi (Harvi)[2] and the calligraphist Mulla 'Abdur-Rashid Delmi were his teachers. In 1658 A.D. during the illness of Shāh Jahān, a great battle took place between him and his borther Aurangzeb for the throne, in which Dārā was defeated and obliged to fly towards Sindh, where he was captured by the chief of that province and brought, loaded with chains and on a sorry elephant without housings into the presence of Aurangzeb. Dārā was then led off to a prison in old Delhi, where after a few days he was murdered by the order of Aurangzeb.

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1. Dabistān-e- Mazāhib, p. 242.

   Maulānā Shibli's remark regarding Dabistān-e- Mazāhib is worth noting here as he says:

   "It is generally believed that Dabistān-e- Mazāhib was written by Muhsin Fāni. Some attribute it to Dara Shikoh, but actually its author was Zulfiqār Ardastāni. This statement is supported by Shāhnawāz Khān Khawāfi.
   (Maāgirul Umarā, Vol. II, p. 392)

   The first edition of the book was published from Bombay in 1260 A.H.
   (Risāla-e-Ān - Nadwa, Vol. 2, No.7, Rajab 1323 A.H., p. 4)"

2. Nugoosh Lahore, April 1960, pp. 141-42.

He was a disciple of Mullā Shāh Badakhshi of the Qādria sect, the successor of Ḥazrat Miyān Mir through whose blessings he had recovered from a prolonged illness in 1634 A.D.

Dārā Shikoh was a skilled author, poet and a calligraphist. He first became interested in Ṣufism and later on in Hinduism (Hindu Religion). His prose works mainly deal with these tro subjects only.

1) He is the author of the work called Safinat-ul-Auliyā, an abridgement of the life of Muḥammad, with a circumstantial detail of his wives, children, and companions etc. He wrote this book in 1049 A.H. when he was hardly 25.[2]

2) Sakinatul Auliyā:- Dārā Shikōh wrote this book in 1052 at the age of 28. In this book he has written biographies of his master Muḥammad Shāh Badakhshāni and the latter's master Miyān Mir, their teachings and miracles.[3]

Dara used to call him 'Ḥazrat-e- Bāri Ta'ālā.' The reason for this is given in Ḥasnātul-'Ārifin as follows:-

" چون ایشان در کوه ہائے نواہے قصبۂ باری عزلت گزین بودند
من ایشان را باری تعالیٰ می گفتم ....."[4]

Its Urdu version was published from Lahore.

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1. She'rul 'Ajam fil Hind, pp. 33 (Footnote).
2&4 Nuqoosh Lahore, April 1960, pp. 141-42.
3. Yād-e- Raftagān, p. 73.

3) Risāla-e- Haqnumā:- No details were available beyond the information that it is a treatise on Sufism.

4) Ḥasnātul 'Ārifin or Ṣhaṭḥiyāt:- contains the sayings of the Sufis, learned men, the Prophet, and Caliphs, which he regarded as Ṣhaṭḥiyāt .

5) Majma'-ul-Baḥrain (i.e. the uniting of both the seas) :- In this he endeavours to reconcile the Brāhman religion with the Muhammadan, citing passages from the Qurān to prove the several points.

In 1656 A.D. with the same intention, he induced some Brahmins of Banaras to translate the Upanishads into Persian. The Upanishads are philosophical works. This book he named Sirr-e-Asrār or Secret of Secrets, as he believed that it was an inspired work and the one which the Holy Qurān mentions as کتاب مکنون (The Secret Book),[1] but his enemies took advantage of it to traduce him in the esteem of his father's Muslim soldiers, and to stigmatize him with the epithets of Kāfir and Rāfiẓi (unbeliever and blasphemer), and finally effected his ruin. Dārā's catholic beliefs led to his downfall and murder. Khazinatul Aṣfiya mentions:

"از تصانیف مشهور وے کتاب سفینۃ الاولیا و سکینۃ الاولیا و سر اکبر و دیوان "اکسیر اعظم" و رسالہ معارف وغیرہ است۔"[2]

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1. Fikr-o-Nagar, p.204.
2. Bazm-e-Taimuriya, p.406.

Prof. Najib Ashraf Nadvi has also discussed his works in the introduction of Ruq'āt-i-'Ālamgir. Dārā has also a short Diwān to his credit. His verses as compared with those of Nāṣir 'Ali, Ghani and Bedil are more lucid and pleasant.

Dārā was the centre of a literary, spiritual and ideological movement which needs detailed and careful study. This movement enjoyed the patronage of master-minds like Sarmad, Chandrabhān Brahman, Muḥsin Fāni Kashmiri, Nāhir Akbarābādi and Muhandis. The importance of this movement in the philosophical and literary development or evolution of the Nation cannot be disputed.

His short Diwān is significant as it was an attempt to revive the Ṣufi poetry. Migration of Shi'as in large numbers from Iran to India during the Moghal Period nearly destroyed mystic poetry as they were not at all interested in it. Dārā and his Hindu and Muslim associates tried to bring it back into vogue. The verses of Dārā, Sarmad, Brahman and Begum Bairāgi are full of mystical ideas.

Besides being himself a poet and a prose-writer he also patronised poets. A reward of one lakh rupees was given by him for a Ghazal of Mir Razi Dānish.[1]

The tragic event of Dārā's murder took place on the first day of Muharram 1070 A.H.[2]

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1. Yād-e-Raftagān, p.81.
2. Mirātul Khayāl, p. 168.

12. Zebun Nisā:- She was the first child of Aurangzeb and Dilaram Bano Begum, the daughter of Shāhnawāz.[1] Her foster-mother was called Piyān Bāi, but according to Dr.Muḥammad Baqir the identity of the latter is uncertain. Zebun Nisā received early education from Ḥāfiẓa Maryam and learned the whole Qurān by heart when she was seven years old,[2] as a reward for which Aurangzeb gave her thirty thousand 'ashrafis'.[3] She was taught higher books in Arabic and Persian by Mullā Jeewan and Mullā Sa'id Ashraf. Shibli[4] mentions the latter only among her teachers. Khushgo[5] includes Mullā Mubārak also. Mullā Muḥammad 'Āqil was her adviser in religious matters. She was a devotee of Khwāja Ma'sūm (The successor of the Mujaddid-e- Alfe Sāni) who respected her very much. Due to her Sufistic inclinations she preferred to remain unmarried although it was customary among the Moghals to marry at 25, but Sayyed[6] Iftikhār 'Ālam Āzād attributes this to the independence of her nature.

Some fantastic stories about the death of Zebun Nisā have been coined by different historians. Let us try to judge the correct position here in the light of the authentic accounts.

1&4. Maqālāt-e- Shibli (Historical Part I) Vol.V, p.107.
2 'Ālamgir, Lahore, July, 1940, p.16.
3 Maāsir-e- 'Ālamgiri, p. 538.
5 Safīna-e- Khushgo, p.259.
6 Tʿaleem-e- Niswān, p.84.

"His (Aurangzeb's) domestic life, " observes Sarkar "was darkened as bereavements thickened round his closing eyes - - - - - - - . His gifted daughter, the poetess Zeb-un-Nisā, had ended her days in the prison of Delhi in 1702 (A.D.)"[1]

Ishwari Prasād says: "Aurangzeb was not a man of strong family affections - - - - - - - Zeb-un-Nisā, his daughter, who was a gifted poetess, was confined in the fortress of Salimgarh for sympathising with her rebellious brother Akbar, and remained there till her death in 1702 (A.D.)"[2]

Irvine remarks: "Of 'Alamgir's daughters, the eldest was Zebu-Nisa Begam born on the 10th Shawwal 1047" (26th Feb. 1637). She died at Delhi a State Prisoner in 1702, unmarried".[3]

All these historians have stressed the point that Zebun-Nisā was imprisoned in the fortress of Salimgarh by Aurangzeb and she died there as a prisoner. Persian Biographers have to tell a different tale. From Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri we find that Aurangzeb was informed of the rebellion of his son Muhammad Akbar for the first time on

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1. A Short History of Aurangzib, p.381.
2. A Short History of Muslim Rule in India, p.690.
3. Later Mughals, I, p.2

* The Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri (P538) wrongly gives the year as 1048 A.H. 'Abdul Hamid's Padishāhnāma (II 22) gives the correct figure 1047 A.H.

the 26th Zulhijja 1091 A.H. (January 18, 1681 A.D.),[1] Musta'id Khān[2] reports:

" بادشاہزادۂ زیب النساء بیگم کہ نوشتجات ایشان بنام محمد اکبر ظاہر شد ببرطرفی چہار لک روپیہ سالیانہ و ضبطِ اموال معاتب شدہ در قلعہ سلیم گڈھ محل سکونت یافتند "

("When the letters of the princess, Zebūn Nisā Begam, written to Muhamrad Akbar, were discovered, she was punished with the confiscation of annual allowance of four lakhs of rupees and other property and (she) came to stay in the fort of Salimgadh.")

This clearly shows that Aurangzeb, on discovering the letters written by Zeb-un-Nisā to her brother, prince Muhammad Akbar, punished her with the confiscation of her annual allowance and other property. She was also apprehended by the Emperor, and removed to the fort of Salimgarh, but it is not mentioned anywhere that she was imprisoned in this fort by Aurangzeb and remained a prisoner till her last days. This part of the story is obviously concocted by the writers who wanted to sling mud at 'Ālamgir. Again we find that various punishments were given to the friends and followers of prince Muhammad Akbar.[3]

Now if Zeb-un Nisā had been punished in any way except the one already mentioned, her punishment would have also

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1. Maāsir-e- 'Ālamgiri, p.197.
2&3. ibid, p. 204.

been recorded. It would seem that not only is the story of her imprisonment till death baseless, but also the relations between father and daughter were very cordial in later years. For instance, Aurangzeb asks Zeb-un-Nisā on the 12th Zulqa'da, 1094 A.H. to offer condolences on his behalf to Ruḥullāh Khān, whose mother had died and the court historian records:

"تتق آرای عصمت وعظمت زیب النساء بیگم موجب حکم عنایت شیم خانۂ او به تشریف شریف دولت کاشانه فرمودند"

("Zeb-un-Nisā Begam, adorning the veil of chastity and greatness, according to the kindly order, turned his house into a lofty palace with her exalted presence").

Shibli[2] also remarks: "Zeb-un-Nisā died in Delhi in the 39th reignal year of Aurangzeb i.e. 1113 A.H. and was buried there only." The chronogram (of her death) is دادخلی جنتی which gives the date 1113 A.H. (1701 A.D.) provided the letter Alif is not accounted for; otherwise it is equivalent to 1114 A.H. (1702 A.D.). She was buried in Tīs Hazāri (Thirty thousand trees) Garden, a quarter still known by the same name and situated outside the Kabuli Gate, Delhi. The garden and the gate are, of course, no more there. The tomb of Zebun-Nisa existed when Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan was a writing his Āsārus Sanādīd in 1847 A.D.[3] In the list of inscriptions of Delhi, Sir Sayyed gives the epitaph of her tomb also.[4]

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1. Maāsir-e- 'Ālamgiri, p.204.
2. Maqālāt-e- Shibli (Vol.V), p.109.
3&4 Āsārus Sanādīd, pp. 77 & 68.

The tomb was pulled down in 1885 A.D. to make way for the Rajputana Railway, and in 1919 A.D. when Bashiruddin Ahmed was writing his Waqiāt-e- Dārul Hukumat-e- Dehli, it was no more there.[1]

It is generally believed that Zebun-Nisā was the author of the published "Diwān-e- Makhfi.", but this is not true. The verses of Makhfi Khurāsāni have been mixed up in this.[2] Ahmed 'Ali Bandelwi had noticed her selected verses in one Tazkira which cannot be relied upon, since the biographer had attributed many verses of many master-poets to her.[3]

The same Tazkira records under the account of Mullā Sa'id Ashraf the incident of Zebun-Nisā's "Special Nayāz" which fell down into the cistern from the hands of an attendant Irādat Fahm and that Mullā Ashraf had described the incident in 20 couplets. One of them runs as follows:-

دوشش از دستِ ارادت فہم خاکم در دہن ۔ چون بیاضِ سینۂ ماہی در آب افتادہ است

Similarly the belief that Makhfi was her pen-name is not true.[4] In "Sham-'e- Anjuman", "Gubh-e- Gulshan" and all other biographies of this learned lady, Diwān-e- Makhfi

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1. Waqiāt-e- Dārul Hukumat- e- Dehli, II, p.414 and An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.428.
2. She'rul-'Ajam fil Hind, p.35 (Footnote).
3. Tazkira-e- Makhzanul-Gharāib C/o. Maqālāt-e- Shibli, Vol.V, pp.110-11.
4. Taleem-e- Niswān, p.84.

is shown as hers[1] and the same thing is repeated by orientalists like Dr. Sprenger, Dr. Rieu and Mrs. West Brooke.* Really[2] speaking this Diwān is of Makhfi Hashti who was attached to the court of Imām Quli Khān, the governor of Fars. In the first few editions of this Diwān published by Naval Kishore Press the author's name is given as Makhfi Hashti but in the Naval Kishore Edition of 1915 of the same work the name of Zebun-Nisā appeared as its authoress, though the editor has not justified the change. In 1929 also when 'Abdul Bāri 'Āsi' edited this Diwān once again he too tried his level best to prove it to be that of Zebun Nisā. Yet some scholars hold that none of the daughters of Aurangzeb was either a poetess or had 'Makhfi' as her takhallus,[3] (pen-name).

Out of the works of Zebun-Nisā only Zeb-ul-Munshaāt has been mentioned by Tazkira writers. This is merely a collection of her letters written from time to time, and the author of Tazkiratul-Gharā'ib had seen it.[4] Hakim Muzaffar Hussain[5] Dehlvi, in his biography of the princess has copied one of her letters written to her Murshid (Spiritual Master).

1&2. (i) Ma'ārif, May 1923, p.364.
(ii) Niger, Pakistan, Oct. 1962, pp.43-4 (Niyāz writes 'Dashti' which is not correct).
3. Dr. Sayyed Md. 'Aqil: Shab Khoon, January 1967, p.44.
4. Maqālāt-e- Shibli, Vol.V, p.111.
5. Sawāneh-e- 'Umre Zeb-un-Nisā, p.50.
* Mrs. West Brooke has published the version of the first 50 Ghazals from the Diwān-e- Makhfi in the Wisdom of the East Series with an introduction and has ascribed these to Zebun-Nisā.

One album containing Qit'āt, samples of the handwritings of well-known scribes and calligraphists and the paintings of the skilled painters is also attributed to her,[1] but it is rare now. Its preface written by Mullā Razā Rashid a poet and prose-writer is preserved in the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna.

It is clear from this prefnce that the princess was well-versed in music and "faith cure".[2]

Prof. Mahfūzul Haq writes,[3] "The common Diwān-e- Makhfi is really the work of Makhfi Rashti who hailed from Bāṣṭarkh and visited India during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

The two couplets quoted by Shibli and Āzād Bilgrāmi, the author of Yad-e- Baiza[4] on the authencity of some Tazkiras are also of dubious value.[5]

This learned professor has made one more discovery regarding "Mūnis-ul-Arwāh" which was wrongly pointed out to be the work of Zebun Nisā by Niyās Fatehpuri in, "Majalla-e- 'Ilmiya Adabiya" of Agra. It is in fact, the compilation of Jahān Ārā, the daughter of Shāh Jahān and is the outcome of her devotion towards Hazrat-e- Nizāmuddin Auliyā.[6]

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1. Bazm-e- Taimuriya, p. 456.
2. "Sham" Agra, Dec. 1925 -- Cf. Bazm-e- Taimuriya, p.458.
3. Bazm-e- Taimuria, p.460 and Ma'ārif, May 1923, p.375.
4. Yade Baiza C/o. Maqālāt-e- Shibli, Vol.V, p.111.
5. Bazme- Taimuria, p. 461 & Ma'ārif, May 1923, p. 373.
6. Ma'ārif, May 1923, p. 375.
   'Diwān Makhfi' - - - by Muhammad Mahfūzul Haq.

Zibun Nisā induced the authors and learned men at the court to write many fine and valuable books under her supervision.[1] Her court was itself an academy with a galaxy of writers engaged in editing, compiling or writing books, which were generally dedicated to her and the first word of their titles began with 'Zeb'. This misled many biographers who mistook these to be her own works. Of these books Mullā Safiuddin Ardabeli's Persian version Zibut-Tafāseer" of Tafseer-e- Kabil by Imām Rāzi is worth mentioning. Once Ni'mat Khān[2] 'Āli offered her a Coronet studded with jewels for sale. It was accepted by Zebun Nisā but the payment was delayed as per the court routine; the former sent the following Rubā'i to her:

اے بندگیت سعادتِ اخترِ من ۔ درخدمتِ تو عیان شدہ جوہرِ من
گر جیغہ خریدنی ست پس کوزرِ من ۔ ورنیست خریدنی بزن برسرِ من

The princess immediately sent Rs.5000/- as also the crest.[2]

In 1090 A.H. Zebun Nisā constructed a pavilion entirely of mica, which looked like a glass one. Ni'mat Khān 'Āli composed in its praise a short Masnawi, a few verses of which have been quoted by Shibli in his article on Zeb-un-Nisā.[3]

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1. Maqālāt-e- Shibli Vol.V, p.114.
2. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p.333.
3. Maqālāt-e- Shibli Vol. V, pp.115-16.

Here Shibli's remark is noteworthy. He says: "The loss caused in the domain of poetry due to the austerity of Aurangzeb was compensated a great deal by the aesthetic sense of Zebun Nisā and this is proved by the keen interest people took in poetry and its public recitation."[1]

The love story of 'Āqil Khān[2] and Zebun Nisā and many similar stories seem to be fanciful accounts given by Western historians. Not a single Tagkira contains any such account.

Against such allegations the princess has to say this much in her defence:

قسم بہ قاضیٔ حاجات و احمدِ مرسل ۔ کہ پاکبازیٔ من باعثِ گناہِ منست

which, when translated, means: "I swear by the Fulfiller of Needs and the Prophet that my innocence and chastity have been the cause of my 'sinfulness' " (that is, sinfulness attributed to her by her enemies).

13. Mir Ja'far Zatalli or Zatali;[3] (b. 1659 circa - d. 1713) He was born in the reign of Shāh Jahān. He hailed from Narnaul. He was the son of a shopkeeper Sayed 'Abbās. S. Hāfiz Mahmud Sherāni's[4] remark that he was born in the same year

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1. Maqālāt-e- Shibli Vol.V, p.112.
2. Zebun-Nisā aur 'Āqil Khān' by 'Abul Makārim Muhammad Na'eem in 'Ālamgir' Lahore, July 1940, p.17.
3. (i) 'Ālamgir, Lahore, Special issue, 1939, p.37.
   (ii) Dāstān-e- Tārikh-e- Urdu, p.27.
   (iii) A History of Urdu Literature, p. 42.
4. Maqālāt-e- Sherāni, p.104.

in which Aurangzeb ascended the throne does not seem quite correct, since the latter came to the throne in 1658 A.D.[1] while the poet is stated to have been born in 1659 A.D. He had two younger sisters and one brother. In childhood he lost his father, and was brought up by his uncle Mir Sarwar.[2] After completing his school education he went out to earn his livelihood. He was a confirmed jester, and so was named Zatalli** (Jester) by the princess Zeb-un-Nisā as stated by Munshi Muhammaduddin, the author of 'Hayāt-e- Zebun-Nisā.[3]

His Kulliyāt is very voluminous and his poems deal with a variety of subjects. Out of these Jeban-nāma, Ikhtilāf-e- Zamān, Marsiya-e- 'Ālamgir and Sūlūk are worth mentioning.[4] He is also the author or collector of a number of proverbs.[5] In extant MSS. of his work may be found examples of Urdu prose covering about two pages. They are disconnected sentences, but are smooth and natural; and evidently represent his everyday speech.

There[6] are different editions of his Kulliyāt. One copy of the edition of 1853 owned by Dr. Sprenger still exists in the Berlin's Library Konigliche.

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1. Ahle Hind ki Mukhtasar Tārikh, p.266.
2&3 Maqālāt-e- Sherāni, p. 104.
4. Dakni Adab ki Tārikh, p. 136.
5. A History of Urdu Literature pp. 43 & 78.
6. Maqālāt-e- Sherāni, pp.111 & 122.

* The Later Mughals, Vol. I, p.403.

** He was called so because he based his verses on satire. (Majmu'a-e- Naghz, Vol.I. p.167).

The booklet Zar-e- Ja'fari[1] by Indian Speculator (who really is one Muhammad Kāmil) is full of accounts and statements which are not supported by collateral evidence in other historical works and so would seem to be merely the outcome of the writer's imagination; Western writers have followed him only.

Zatelli[2] was older than Wali and when the latter visited Delhi he was on the wrong side of 40 and had already started composing verses. Zor[3] says, "Zatelli should be regarded as one of the Northern poets who started composing poetry under the influence of Wali. On the other hand he had been to the Deccan and his verses are very much influenced by Urdu, Haryānvi and Dakhni." Sakaena[4], like some other biographers reckons him as a satirist only, but Naqeer[5] Husain Khayāl does not agree with them. He abandoned the limited scope of Ghazal-writing and preferred writing poems and fragments, thus enlarging the horizon of Urdu. He[6] wrote satires on nearly everybody, not sparing even Aurangzeb's sons. He[7] accompanied one of these, Kām Bakhsh to the Deccan, where, most probably, he received his first poetic inspiration. Most of his verse is Persian, but his Urdu verses show remarkable

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1. Maqālāt-e- Shermāni, pp. 111 & 122.
2. Dāstān-e- Tārikh-e- Urdu p. 27.
3. Dakni Adab Ki Tārikh, p. 136.
4. Tārikh-e- Adab-e- Urdu, p.209.
5. Dāstān-e- Urdu, p.73 (Footnote).
6&7 Dakni Adab Ki Tārikh, p.136, and Oriental College Magazine, Aug. 1958, p. 42.

vigour and freshness. His description of the turmoil following the death of Aurangzeb is a fine piece of writing and in spite of being full of Persian words it does not show Persian influence in thought.[1] Zatalli[2] seems to have been put to death by Farrukhsiyar for paralying the couplet on the coin of that Emperor. Historians do not at all mention this, though it is not impossible, as Mir 'Abdul Jalil Wāsti Bilgrāmi was sacked simply for reporting a harmless incident. Zatalli lived upto 1125/1713. All his works are preserved in the Edinborough University. One day he visited Bedil and praised him as follows:-

چه عرفی چه فیضی به پیش تو هیچ*

Mirzā offered Zatalli two ashrafis and in spite of the request of the people present there, did not allow him to recite the second hemistich.[3]

On another occasion Zatalli seeing Bedil engrossed in composing a couplet asked him, "which line is worrying you so much ? " Bedil said, " لاله بر سینه داغ چون دارد Zatalli at once retorted: چوبکی سبز زیر کون دارد (with a very vulgar line) which angered Bedil.[4] This statement is

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1 & 2. A History of Urdu Literature, p.42 and Dāstāne-e- Urdu p.74.

3. (i) Oriental college Magazine, p.42 (Aug.1952).
(ii) Safine-e- Khushgo, p.113.
(iii) Nikātush-Sho'arā, pp.30-31. (* ظهوری و عرفی به پیش تو هیچ (مخزن نکات ص ۱۳

4. (i) same as 3(i) (ii), Tazkira-e- Sho'arā-e-Urdu, p.40. Shibli (B.Com) quotes this incident in reference to Sauda and Zatalli without an authority . (Fikr-o-Nagar, p.38).
This is not true.

made by Mir Hasan, Dr. 'Abdul Ghani and Mahmud Sherāni. His more characteristic style is a macaronic mixture of Persian and Urdu.

14. Faqirullāh Āfrin: He was born at Lahore and lived in its Dukhārāi mohallā. He was a Gujar and had embraced Islam. Āzād Bilgrāmi had met him in1143 A.H. while he was travelling to Sindh. He was very good natured and hospitable. At this time he was writing his Maṣnawi Heer-o- Rānjhā (Rāz-o-Niyāz). On his return from Sindh in 1147 A.H. Āzād Bilgrāmi again saw him. Āfrin presented him for a copy of his incomplete Tazkira, "Yad-e- Baiżā" and offered his Maṣnawi 'Ambān-e- Ma'rifat', written in his own hand to him.[1]

He[2] was one of the poetic "Masters" (اساتذہ) of Lahore, and acquired external sciences in adolescence. It is said that he was a carefree and fearless fellow who did not leave Lahore throughout his life and idly passed his time mostly in the coffee-houses and opium dens.

People regarded him as a respectable gentleman and frequently called on him, but he did not care much for them. His addiction to opium would seem to have clouded his mental faculties so that he appeared to be insane or, at least, imbecile, most of the time. But at the time of imparting

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1. (a) Sarw-e- Āzād, p. 205-6.
   (b) An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.35.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo pp. 258-40.

lessons to the pupils, he regained his sanity. He lived in a small room near the gateway to a mosque. Although he appeared to be a bad-tempered, mad fellow, he was very humble and modest.

Rāi Ānand Rām 'Mukhliṣ' wrote to him for a copy of his Diwān and his portrait. Khān-e- Ārzu also asked for some couplets by way of present and sent to him two of his Ghazals and in the accompanying note expressed extreme regard and affection for him. Āfrin also wrote him a letter of praise and affection (sincerity). Khushgo included this letter in his album. In short he was a straightforward man with great spiritual attainment and praised people even when he had not seen them at all. It is said that he used hair-dye even at the age of 90 and when asked the reason retorted extempore:

دشمنِ زندگی ست موی سفید - روی دشمن سیاه باید کرد [1]

(Grey hair is the enemy of life. It is better to tarnish the face of the enemy black with tar).

Khushgo happened to notice his Diwān with Nūrul- 'Ain 'Wāqif' at Batala; It was full of mistakes in both prosody and rhymes. Khushgo attributes this to his seclusion and retiring disposition.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 240.

Wālāh Dāghistāni[1] writes: "Had he been in Iran, he would have been acknowledged as a great poet."

Besides the two Maṣnawis mentioned earlier, he was the author of a Diwān. It was edited by Colonel Hamilton in 1870 A.D. and is now preserved in the British Museum, London.[2]

'Abdul[3] 'Aẓim Taḥseen, Ḥakim Baig Khān Ḥākim and Ṣufi Mastāna etc. were his pupils.

Some say that he died in 1730 A.D., and others in 1741, 1143 or 1154 A.H.

15. Mirzā Quli Khān 'Nadeem': He belonged to the circle of Persian poets. He was a contemporary of Bedil.[4] Mir[5] Qudratullāh writes: "He was born in India and was the contemporary of great poets like Saudā and Mir. He was a soldier at the court of Delhi and died there". No further details regarding this poet were available.

16. Ghulām Nabi Wahshat[6]: He was a poet of whom next to nothing is known, except that he was a contemporary of Bedil and copied his style in prose and poetry.

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1. C/o. Shaʿrul 'Ajam fil Hind, p. 50 (Footnote).
2. ibid p. 51 (Footnote).
3. 4&6. Oriental College Magazine, August, 1952 p. 54. and Tārikh-e- Adab-e- Urdu, p. 94 (Saksena).
5. Majmu'a-e- Naghz Vol. II, p. 269.
6. Roz-e- Raushan, p. 753 C/o. The Oriental College Magazine. August 1952, p. 54.

17. Mirzā Murtazā Quli Khān Firāq:[1] He was a good poet who composed his poetry in Persian. He was born in Iran and the poet Bedār was his pupil.[2] Further details of his life and career are not available.

18. Sher Khān Lodi:- (b. 1050 to 1055 A.H. Circa d.1102 A.H.) He was born in the reign of Shāh Jahān; this he has referred to twice in his Tazkira. In the light of what he writes his birth date may well be placed between 1050 A.H. and 1055 A.H.

He was the youngest son of 'Ali Amjad Khān Lodi who served under the prince Shuja' in Bengal. Mullā Farrukh Ḥusain Kāẓim taught him a few Arabic and Persian booklets, then he learnt the principles of grammar and acquired knowledge of other subjects, from his father and his father's friends.

After undergoing great difficulties he got access to[4] Shukrullāh Khān, the Faujdār of Sirhind, who showed him favours which[5] he praises in his Tazkira.

Mirātul-Khayāl throws light on his ability. He was well-read in many arts and sciences, especially, music and medicine.[6]

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1. Bayāz-e- Sukhan,p. 8.
2. Majmū'a-e- Naghz Vol.I, pp. 117-18.
3. Mirātul-Khayāl, pp. 12 & 85.
4. ibid, p. 121.
5. ibid, p. 242.
6. ibid, p. 261.

Sher Khān[1] seems to be a Sunni with sound beliefs. His mode of life is more or less Ṣufistic. He read the works of Imām Ghazāli and Imām Ibnul- 'Arabi very often and saw the Prophet thrice in his dreams, which he describes fully. Every time, the Prophet appeared in a different form. When he asked a saint about this, he said that that happened to neophytes, but those who are accomplished and perfect in Ṣufiism, see the Prophet in his real form.

During his stay at Sirhind he had cultivated close and friendly relations with the well-known poet Nāṣir 'Ali of Sirhind.[2] Sher Khān attended his meetings. For a few days he could not meet Nāṣir 'Ali, so he wrote a letter of complaint running into 21 lines to which Nāṣir 'Ali replied mentioning his lack of leisure and personal worries.[3] He was an associate as also a rival of Bedil and Mirzā 'Muḥsin Zulqadar* was also his comtemporary, with whom he maintained friendly relations for a long time.

The correct year of his death is not known; nevertheless, on the strength of the date of the completion of his Taẕkira, this much is certain that he lived upto 1102 A.H. His verses are only those elegiac ones he composed on the death of his father and brother, and probably, those couplets given in the

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1. Mirātul-Khayāl. p.170.
2&3 ibid. p.292-93.
* Zulqadar in Turkish language is a skilled archer.

appendix of the book,[1] but it cannot be definitely said that he was their author. The poetic chronogram regarding the completion of the book is undoubtedly his.

His Tazkirā Mirātul Khayāl (the Mirror of Imagination) was written in the reign of 'Ālamgir in 1102/1691.[2] It contains an account of the most celebrated poets, and besides, it deals with almost every science cultivated by Muslims: music, medicine, cosmography, oneiroscopy, talismans, etc. Sher Khān gave, in his Tazkira, a short account of Bedil's life and career, and showed it to Bedil.[3]

19. Ghanimat Kunjāhi[4] (d. in 1158/1695). Muhammad Akram 'Ghanimat' belonged to Kunjāh in the Gujarat district of the Punjab, and rose on the horizon of poetry at the time of 'Ālamgir. No Tazkirā gives a detailed account of his life. Dr. Rieu[5] remarks: "He belonged to the Qādriā Sect and was a pupil of Mir Mohammed Zamān Māsikh in poetry. For some time he was attached to Mir Mohammed Ishāque, who was the governor of Lahore in 1106 A.H. Perusal of his diwan reveals that he was adequately learned." The Punjābi Adabi Academy of Lahore has published his Diwān whose foreward shows that his father's name was Nazr Muhammad Mufti and that Ghanimat died about 1158 A.H.[6]

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1. Mirātul-Khayāl, p. 340.
2. Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 380.
3. Mirātul-Khayāl, p.391.
4. Armughān-e- Pāk, p.69.
5. Rieu's Cat. of the British Museum Library, p.700.
6. She'rul- 'Ajam fil Hind, p.179.

Sarkhush says:[1]

"از خاکیانِ ہند غنیمت بُودہ، طبعیٔ دُرست داشت و دیوانیٔ مختصر دارد و مثنوی نیز نگر کردہ."

("He was an Indian and was gifted with true poetic genius. He is the author of a short Diwān and a Maṣnawi.").

He was one of the best Persian poets and almost a unique Maṣnawi-writer. Beauty of expression, subtlety of thought and construction (بندش) are the distinctive qualities of his Ghazals.[2]

Ghanimat had nothing to do with the literary activities at the Capital (Delhi). His Maṣnawi Nairang-e- 'Ishq containing an account of the loves of 'Asiz and Shāhid was composed in the reign of 'Ālamgir and was quite opposed to the temperament of the religious emperor.

This Maṣnawi won more popularity than his Diwān of Ghazals, as its theme among the romantic epics is quite original. Nairang-e- 'Ishq is a happy combination of subtlety of invention and thought. Though it is not very long, it has an astonishing charm and is studded with similes and metaphors.

According to Ikrām this Maṣnawi as opposed to the then political atmosphere, had a tinge of reaction which was

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1. Kalemātush-Sho'arā, p.82.
2. Fikr-o- Naẓar, p.122.

to take place within four years after the religious-minded emperor's death in the form of the merry-making of Jahāndār Shāh and Lāl Kaur and more effectively in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.[1]

This very aspect of the national life is depicted in the Maṣnawi. It is a wonderful example of mastery of language and mode of thinking[2] and has won praise even from Persians. The true love of two young men is described in this and the central theme shows how worldly love gets transformed into spiritual love. Here and there are verses in the spiritual vein.

20. Mir Ghulām 'Ali Āzād Bilgrāmi:-[3] He was born in 1116 A.H. at the village Bilgrām in Oudh. He was a descendant of Imām Zainul 'Ābedin, and belonged to the Ḥanafi religion and the Chishti Sect.

He studied the traditional Persian and Arabic textbooks with Mir Ṭufail Muḥammad, and specialized in the languages, "Traditions" of the Prophet's life and literature under the guidance of his grand-father* 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrāmi. He acquired detailed knowledge of prosody and rhymes from his

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1. Armughān-e- Pāk, p.70.
2. Fikr-o- Nazar, p.122.
3. (i) Urdu Karachi, July-Oct. 1958, pp.293-327.
   (ii) Sukhanwarān-e- Baland Fikr, pp.44-47.
   (iii) Dakni Adab ki Tārikh, p.145-46.

* Beale says he was the son of the celebrated Mir 'Abdul Jalil (Orien. Biog. Dict. p. 86).

maternal uncle Mir Sayed Muḥammad. He is said to have completed his studies at the age of fifteen which is an index to his genius. He was very intelligent and had such a wonderful memory that he never forgot a thing even if he heard it once only. In 1130 A.H. he became a disciple of Sayed Luṭfullāh Pilgrāmi in the Chishtia Sect and went that very year to Delhi to see his grandfather. There he studied for two years and then returned to his native place.

He was well-versed in all the Persian and Arabic arts and sciences. His Qasidas in Arabic were so typically elegant that even the people of Arabia were astonished and forced to praise them when they heard them.

He was the teacher of Nāṣir Jang. He settled at Aurangabad and lent grace to the social and cultural life of the city by his presence. He had full command over Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Hindi.

He was an excellent poet and wrote several works in Persian and Arabic, among which are:—

(i) Qaṣāid-e- 'Uzzā,
(ii) Sabḥatul Marjān,
(iii) Khazāna-e- 'Amera.
(iv) Sarwe-Āzād.
(v) Daugatul Aulia
(vi) Yad-e- Baiza
(vii) Ghazālān-e- Hind
(viii) Shamāmatul Hind Fi Zikril Hind.
(ix) Sanadus S'aādat Fi Hun-e- Khātimatus Sādat.

(x) Diwān-e- Fārsi
(xi) Diwān-e- 'Arabi
(xii) Shar'he - Bukhāri upto the book 'Azzakāt'

Most of his works have been published recently.

21. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Ittiqāi[1] He was a melodious poet, a perfect master of poetics and enigmatic writing setting poetic riddles. He was a contemporary of Bedil.

Dr. 'Abdul Ghani[2] has introduced one Muḥammad Sadiq Ilqā as a pupil of Bedil. It is not known whether the two appellations refer to the same person.

2. Mir Muḥammad Afẓal Sābit of Allahabad: He hails from Badakhshan, but was born at Allahabad.[3] According to Wālah Dāghistāni his birth-place was Delhi. He was a Sayed of Khwāf and the nephew of Himmat Khān 'Dairi'[4] and grandson of Islām Khān 'Wālā' who was one of 'Ālamgir's nobles.[5] He went to Delhi in search of service and settled there. He was a Sayed of Khwāf and enjoyed high reputation as a teacher and a man of spiritual attainment.[6] He was acknowledged as a master of the language and a perfect poet. The whole Capital respected him.[7] In all the forms of poetry his style is masterly. In Qasida-writing he enjoys

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1. Tazkira-e- Ḥusaini, p.48.
2. Oriental College Magazine, August 1952, p.38.
3&7 Tazkiratush-Sho'arā, p.34.
4&6 Safina-e- Khushgo, p.232.
5 Sarw-e- Āzād, p.203 & 3 above, p.34.

a high position. One[1] of his panegyrics which abounds in medical terms has been fully copied out by Lachhmi Nārāyan Shafiq in his Taskira 'Shām-e- Gharibān and has been provided with full annotations on the allusions and the technical words. Lachhmi Nārāyan has quoted largely from another masterly panegyric of Sābit and commented on difficult lines. His Diwān deals with all forms of poetry. He may very well be called Kalim and 'Urfi of his time. Of his ten to twelve thousand couplets nearly one thousand couplets pertain to fresh-writing.

As a proof of his capacity for original composition he composed a Qasida and recited it in the annual 'Urs of Sedil and at the same time distributed its copies to all the poets with a note that if anybody found some vulgarity in his verses the reader should strike off that couplet.

He composed elegies with very elegant and fine opening lines modelled on the style of a Masnawi.

Although his forefathers were Sunnis,[2] he had become a Shi'a after a dream he saw in his youth and wrote many books regarding sectarianism (Shi'a Tariqat). He led a worldly life first, but later on, renounced it and became an ascetic. For some time he stayed near the Qadam-e- Mubārak, then shifted

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1. Introduction to Chamanistān-e- Sho'arā, p.11.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.223.

to the Haveli of Hakim 'Imāduddin Iksir next to Bakhān.[1] He was very shy and seldom came out of his house. He died in 1152 A.H. and was buried in Delhi.[2] According to 'Abdul Ghani[3] he died in 1151 A.H. which cannot be quite correct since Khushgo[4] had the good fortune to meet him frequently and he has written a chronogram ثابت مُرده which yields 249 + 903 = 1152 as the year of his death. When Āzād Bilgrāmi wrote to Mazhar Jān-e- Jānān to inform him about the correct date of Sābit's death, after thorough investigation (enquiry), Mazhar wrote 12th of Rabi'ul Awwal 1150 A.H. Bilgrāmi[5] then refers to Wālah Daghistāni (والہ داغستانی) who gives it as 1151 A.H. As Wālah was very friendly with Sābit's son Muhammad 'Azim Sabāt, the former's statement must be correct and authentic and Mirzā Mazhar forgot to write the word یک .

2 . Sarkhush: He was born in Kashmir in 1050/1640 in the reign of Shāh Jahān. Khushgo[6] contradicts the statement of Muhammad Tāhir Nasrābādi and 'Ali Sher Qāne[6] that he was a native of Lahore. He was a Moghal and the second son of Muhammad Zāhid and brought up at Sirhind. From very childhood he had a taste for poetry. Nāsir 'Ali[7] was his

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.223.
2. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera , p.173.
3. Taskiratush-Sho'arā, p.34.
4. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.223.
5. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, pp. 173-74.
6. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.72.
7. Kalemātush - Sho'arā, p.74.

friend at Sirhind. At first he showed his verses to his elder brother 'Ijzi' for correction and adopted Sarkhush as his pen-name. Mullā Jāmi Bekhud Lāhori introduced him to Mirzā Muhammad[1] 'Ali Māhir whose pupil he claims to be. For some time Mun'im Ḥakkāk Shirazi also was his master.[2] Khān-e- Ārzu writes:

"ہرچند شاگرد محمد علی ماہر است۔۔۔ امّا استفادۂ تمام در خدمتِ میر معز فطرت المخاطب بموسوی خان نموده"[3]

Thus he had the good fortune to become acquainted with almost all men of talent of his day. After the death of 'Abdullāh Khān Zakhmi in 1037 A.H. Sarkhush became a judge مُشرِف عدالت (Court Superintendent) at Ḥasan[4] Abdāl (Atak). In old age he was appointed منصب دار و تحویلدار اجناس مندرس صوبہ[5].

He came down to Delhi and settled in the Chowk of Abdullāh Khān and became a recluse, but regularly discharged his duties.

His Tazkira throws light on some of his relatives also.[6] Among his pupils, Khushgo enjoys great fame.

The letters of his Tazkira "Kalemātush - Sho'arā," if taken according to their numerical values, give 1093 A.H. i.e. 1682 A.D., as the year in which it was produced. It

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1. Kalemātush - Sho'arā, p.105.
2. ibid, p. 109-10.
3. ibid, p. 3 (Introduction).
4. Sherul 'Ajam Til Hind. Footnote, p.39.
5. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.72.
6. Kalemātush - Sho'arā, pp. 13, 131 & 132.

contains the biographical accounts of the Persian poets ranging from the reign of Jahāngir to that of 'Ālamgir. It further gives some historical events upto 1115 A.H., which is considered by Ikrāmul Ḥaq to be the year of the production of the biography.[1] He has reviewed and criticised their poetry in accordance with the taste of the time.[2] All other biographers including Āzād Bilgrāmi have quoted and referred to it at several places, a fact which goes to prove its importance. In prose he is the author of the introduction to his Diwān and a treatise entitled Risāla-e- Rawāih in imitation of Jāmi's Lawāih.[3]

His other works include the Maqnawis Nurun 'Alā Nūr,* Ḥusn-o- 'Ishq (story of Sassi Punno) Saqināma, Qadā-o- Qadr, and Jang-nāma Muhammad Aẓam Shāh.[4]

His Kulliyāt comprising 45,000 couplets[5] was published from Calcutta but is now rare.[6] He died at the advanced age of 76 years in 1126/1714 during the reign of Farrukhsiyar and was buried near the Qadam-e- Rasool.[7]

He had met Khān-e- Ārzu two or three years before his death.[8] In old age he had given up literary pursuits and had become a recluse.

1&6. Shē'rul- 'Ajam fil Hind, p.39.
2. Bazm-e- Taimuriya, p.276.
3,4&5 Safina-e- Khushgo, p.76.
7. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.75.
8. Ārzu C/o. Kalemātush Sho'arā, p.7.
* Beale gives Nur-i- 'Ali and Shah-nama-e-Muhammed 'Aẓim (An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.353).

At the instigation of Nāṣir 'Ali, Sarkhush tried to vie with Bedil many times, which is clear from his Tazkira.

Once Khushgo, through Shāh Gulshan, tried to reconcile Sarkhush and Bedil. Sarkhush at once retorted, "Why do you want to see the duel of two elephants".[1] Dispite this rivalry Sarkhush has spoken highly of Bedil in his Tazkira.[2]

Sarkhush held poetical competitions with Bedil and Nāṣir 'Ali and won the applause of fellow-poets. His poetry is mystical and he was well-versed in composing extempore verses and chronograms. He himself was conscious of being matchless among his contemporaries.[3]

He was not fond of the traditional style, and was more inclined towards originality. His verses are spontaneous, mature and original.

24. Mullā Muḥammed 'Alim Tabqiq:[4] (d. 1162 A.H.). He was the son of Mir Badi'uzzamān Samarqandi and a favourite pupil*

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.74.
2. Kalemātush- Sho'arā, p.14.
3. ibid, p.33.
4. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.267-68.

* Dr.Muhammad Ḥasan in his book (Delhi men Urdu Shā'iri Kā Fikri aur Tahzibi Pas Manzar, p.251 (footnote) wrongly quotes Shād 'Āzimābādi and has written just the reverse. To my inquiry on the point, he replied that, that particular reference was conveyed to him by his teacher Mas'ood Ḥasan Rizwi of Lucknow. My letter explaining this appeared in Hamāri Zabān weekly of Aligarh, dated 1st April 1966, p.6.

of Mirzā Mo'izz Mūswi Fiṭrat. He belonged to the family of the prominent nobles of 'Aẓimābād. He was well-versed in contemplative sciences, traditions, music, archery and many other sciences. For a considerable time he lived in Delhi but had been on a trip to Bengal also.

He was a fertile, imaginative and sound poet of a high position, and left a big Diwān. He attained an age of over 90 years. The letters of his pupil Lāla Ujāgar Chand 'Ulfat' addressed to Khushgo reveal that Taḥqiq died in 1162 A.H. Ulfat's chronogram on his death is as follows:-

فرمود کہ تحقیق شُدہ واصلِ حق
۱۱۶۲ھ

Prof. Muʿinuddin Dardāi[1] remarks: "Some historians consider Mirzā Bedil to be the predecessor, but Mullā Muhammed 'Alim Taḥqiq lived before Bedil - - - - - - - - - - - . He flourished at the time of 'Ālamgir and had the chance to witness the last days of Shāh Jahān."

But Akhtar Urenwi[2] states that Bedil, 'Imād and Taḥqiq were contemporaries and Bedil was older than 'Imād by eleven years and Taḥqiq by sixteen years. Mirzā Bedil died nine years after 'Imād and twenty-nine years earlier than Taḥqiq. Thus Taḥqiq enjoyed a very long life. At any rate, Bedil was a predecessor of them all. Taḥqiq is the author of a big Diwān in Persian which language he like Bedil, admired most. Bedil

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1. Bihār aur Urdu Shā'iri, p.14.
2. Bihār men Urdu Zabān-o- Adab kā Irtiqā, pp.204-6.

had shifted to Delhi before Mūswi Fitrat came to Patna and Tahqiq had not yet stepped into the prime of youth.[1] According to Dardāi Shāh 'Imād was Tahqiq's contemporary.

25. Sayed 'Imāduddin 'Imād:[2] (b. 1065 A.H. Circa d.1124 A.H. He was a contemporary of Tahqiq 'Aẓimābādi.

26. Ghulām Muḥammad[3] Naqshband Sajjād: - He lived from 1116 A.H. to 1173 A.H. No further details regarding his career were available.

27. 'Ṣāmit' Isfahāni:[4] The details of his life are not known. Khazāna-e- 'Amera does not mention him at all. One Tazkira Natāi'jul Afkār briefly refers to him as follows:-

" 'Hāji Ṣādiq Ṣāmit of Isfahān was a man of true taste and poetic genius, (مردِ باسلیقہ وصاحبِ طبع خوش) who visited India twice for trade purposes, and died (اواخر ماتہ حادی عشر ۱۱۰۰ *) towards the close of eleventh century A.H.

Sarkhush takes a short notice of him with the remark that he was a trader and came to India at the time of 'Alamgir. He is the author of a short Divān which is purely an individual (and unaided) compilation.

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1. Bihār men Urdu Zabān-o- Adab Kā Irtiqā, pp.204-6.
2&3 Bihār aur Urdu Shā'iri, p.15.
4. Nigār-e- Pakistan, Jan. 1965, p. 26 to 32.
* Natāijul-Afkār, p.421.

'Niyāz' Fatehpuri argues that from the words in which his poetry is referred to by critics, it is quite evident that the authors of the biographies mentioned above did not come across his Diwān, although Kalemātush Sho'arā was compiled in 1093 A.H. which is the date of Ṣāmit's death. Probably the remarks of the biographers are based upon some other Taskira. Sarkhush's statement that he wrote a short Diwān is incorrect in so far as the manuscript of his Diwān preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan comprises hundreds of Ghazals and a number of Qaṣidas and cannot be called short at all. It would be proper to note here that a copy of this Diwān does not exist either in the British Museum Library or the India Office Library, and not a single catalogue of MSS. mentions it. Niyaz Fatehpuri had noticed this MS. and in his opinion Ṣāmit was in no way inferior to 'Urfi in Qaṣida-writing. The reason for his obscurity is perhaps that he arrived in India during the reign of 'Ālamgir when the period of the recognition of Persian poetry at Court had passed and hence the poet had no access to the Court.

This MS. is divided into two parts: The first part consists of Qaṣidas and a fragment, and the second part contains Ghazals from 'Alif' to 'Ya'. His Qasidas are in

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1. Kalemātush- Sho'arā, p.68.

praise of 'Ali and his family, and in the fragment he has satirised a horse given to him as a gift by some nobleman.[1]

In Qasida-writing he was considerably influenced by 'Urfi and as such his Qasidas are in the same metre and rhyme as those of 'Urfi.[2] At some places he reached 'Urfi so close in force, vigour and sweetness of language that it is difficult to distinguish between the style of the two.

Sāmit's Ghazals are not so remarkable. His verses in that form of composition lack the typical beauty associated with it and are rather eulogistic than romantic in character.[3]

1&2. Nigār-e- Pakistan, Jan. 1965, p.26.
3. ibid, p.32.

C H A P T E R - V

BEDIL'S PUPILS, PATRONS AND FRIENDS.

1076 A.H. - 1096 A.H.

Bedil arrived from Bihar to Shāhjahānabād and settled down there permanently. Bedil spent these twenty years of his life in visiting Shāhjahānabād, Akbarābād and Islāmābād[1] (Mathura) frequently. Once he went to Lahore and Hasanabdāl for sight-seeing via Sarāi[2] Nikodar. It was during these years that he[3] married and joined the army but resigned within a very short period.

1. Mir Muhammad Ahsan Ijād:- (d. 1133 A.H.). He belonged to the Sayeds of Semen (Sādāt-e- Semenah).[4] He served at Azam Shāh's court where he came in contact with Bedil and became his pupil in spiritual matter. Bedil provided him with a pen-name, and recommended him to Nawab Husain Quli Khān. At the time of Farrukhsiyar he was asked to write Shāhnāma; he gave the historical account of events upto the reign of Farrukhsiyar. His title was Ma'niyāb Khān and he was second to none in eloquence, subtlety and loftiness of emotion.

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1. In 1080 A.H. 'Alamgir visited Mathura which was the centre of idol-worship. He built a mosque there to abolish it and renamed the city as Islāmābād. (Maāsir-e-'Alamgiri) p.96.
2. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 530.
3. ibid, pp. 429-30.
4. Kalematush-Sho'arā, pp. 8-9.

2. Shaikh Sa'dullāh Gulshan[1]:- (d. 1140 A.H.[2]) He was a spiritual disciple of Shāh Gul. Keeping this in view, Tedil suggested 'Gulshan' as his pen-name. While in Āṣaf Shāh's service he was introduced to Tedil.

At first he showed his verses to Sarkhush for correction, but later on owing to natural inclination he turned to Tedil and became his pupil. Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād[3] mentions him as a contemporary of Tedil. He was a prolific poet and it is said that his verses are estimated to be one lākh.[4]

3. Mehr 'Ali Bekas:[5] He belonged to Qāḍizādās of Mathura the native-place of Sarkhush. He studied poetics with Tedil, probably during the latter's stay at Mathura from 1094 A.H. to 1096 A.H. He died during Sarkhush's life-time only.

HIS FRIENDS, PATRONS AND PUPILS:-

1.'Āqil Khān Rāzi:- Mir 'Askeri, better known as 'Āqil Khān Rāzi, comes from a family of the Sayyids of Khwāf in Khurāsān but he was born in India.

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1. (i) Kalemātush-Sho'arā, p.96.
   (ii) Sarw-e-Āzād, p.198.
   (iii) Sprenger's Cat. Vol.I, pp. 128 & 158.
2. Safina-e-Khushgo, p.168. Khushgo's chronogram ساقی گلشن بہ بہشت اپی ۱۱۴۰ھ yields correct year, while Dr.'Abdul Ghani gives 1141 A.H. (Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1952, p20).
3. The-Hayāt, p.90 (Footnote).
4. Tazkiratush-Sho'arā, p.116. 5. Ṣubḥ-e-Gulshan, p 74.

He was an early follower of Aurangzeb, who at the time of his accession conferred upon him the title of 'Āqil Khān.[1]

His official career was very chequered, he abandoned his rank and had twice to lead a retired life, but the royal favour extended to him persuaded him to resume the service of the state.[2] From the references made to him in the historical works, it appears that he did not indulge in politics and court intrigues but preferred to lead a peaceful life devoted to literary pursuits. Poetry was his favourite subject. He left behind him a Dīwān and several Masnawis, but[3] in prose no other work, except the Wāqi'āt-e- 'Ālamgiri is ascribed to him. The poetical surname of Rāzi is said to have been assumed by him after the saint Burhānuddin Raqi-e-Allāhi, in whom he had great faith, and[4] because of his ancestral home of Khwāf he was called Khāfi. 'Āqil Khān, as has been stated, already began his official career in the service of Aurangzeb. When the prince marched from the Deccan to Agra with the intention of visiting Shāh Jahān who was ill, 'Āqil Khān held the post of second Bakhshi. He was left behind in charge of the city of Daulatābād. Subsequently,[6] the fort of

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1. Cat. of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. II, p.699 No. Or 347, Maāsiru-l-Umarā by Shāh Nawāz Khān, Persian text, Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. II, p.821.
2. Cat. Vol. II, p.699; Maāsirul-Umarā Vol. II, p.821.
3. Cat. Vol. II, p.699, (ii) ibid, p.823.
4. Cat. p.699, (ii) p.823, Shaikh Burhānuddin was a saint at Burhanpur. He was much revered for piety.
5. 'Ālamgir Nāma by Muhammad Kāzim, Persian Text, Bibliotheca Indica, p.41; Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri by Mustaid Khān (Persian Text) Bibliotheca Indica, p.4;
6. 'Ālamgir Nāma, p.44 & 194 and Maāsiru-l-Umarā Vol. II, p.821. Maāsiru-l-Umarā Vol. II, p.821 has Aurangābād in place of Daulatābād.

Dauletabad was placed under his charge, and 500 Sawārs. After the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne, he was ordered to accompany Prince Mu'azzam to the court.[1] There he was appointed Faujdar of the Doāb (the country between the Ganges and the Jamuna), and his rank was raised to 1500 zat (1661-62 A.D.) and 1000 Sawars.[2]

In the year[3] 1072/1661-62 he was allowed to relinquish his rank on account of ill-health and retire, and was granted an annual pension of nine thousand rupees.

In 1074/1663-64, Aurangzeb on his return from Kashmir held a Darbar at Lahore, and 'Aqil Khān, who had been staying there agreed to enter the royal service again and was granted his rank which was raised to 2000 zat and 700 Sawars.[4] He appears to have joined the retinue of the Emperor, who on his arrival at Delhi, appointed him to the post of Dārogha and Ghusl Khāna[5]. Three years later, in 1077/1666-67, his rank was further raised to 2500 zat and 700 Sawars.[6] It is not known how long he worked as the Dārogha of Ghusl Khāna, but we learn that in the year 1079/1668-69 he held the post of Dārogha

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1. 'Ālamgir Nāma, p. 193-64 & 401.
2. Maāsir-e- 'Ālamgiri, p.26.
3. 'Ālamgir Nāma, p. 478.
4. 'Ālamgir Nāma p.630. Khāfi Khān says that he was granted a pension of fifty while the Maāsirul- Umarā, Vol.II, p.321 records the amount of pension as ten (Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri, p.37), however, reduced it to one thousand rupees only.
5. 'Ālamgir Nāma, p. 843; Maāsirul-Umarā Vol.II, p.321.
6. Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, Vol.II, p.177; Maāsiru-l-Umarā, Vol.II, p.3214. The term 'Ghusl Khāna' refers to the chamber of private audience, now known as the Diwān-e-Khās and it should not be confused with and royal bathroom (Hammām). The post of Dārogha of Ghusl Khāna was similar to the office of the Chamberlain.

of Dāk Chauki.[1] He retired again from the state service with a pension of twelve thousand rupees, which was sanctioned in 1087/1676-77 A.D. During his retirement he seems to have maintained his relations with the Court, as a Khil'at and a dagger worth seven thousand rupees were conferred upon him by Prince Shāh 'Ālam under the royal orders in 1089 A.H./ 1678-79.[2] Soon after, we find him appointed to the post of Bakhshi-e-Tan in the year 1090/1679-80.[3] In the 24th reignal year of Aurangzeb (1681 A.D.) he was appointed governor of the province of Dārul-Khilāfat Delhi, and a Khil'at was conferred upon him together with a dagger studded with jewels, and a string of pearls.[4] He held this post till his death,[5] which occurred in 1108/1696-97.[6]

It is said that 'Aqil Khān was bold, and strict in the performance of his duties, that he showed a spirit of independence and frankness, that he was arrogant towards his superiors and maintained self-respect even in poverty and privation. He is given credit for being generous and benevolent, honest and sincere, and steadfast in his religious practice. It[7] is not improbable that his strictness and arrogance may

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1. 'Ālamgir Nāma, p.991; Maāsiru-l- Umarā, Vol.II, p.822.
2. Maāsir-e- 'Ālamgiri, pp.82 and 153; Maāsir-ul-Umarā Vol.II, p.822.
3. Maāsir-e- 'Ālamgiri, p.168.
4. Ibid, p.176; Maāsiru-l-Umarā, Vol.II, p.822.
5. Ibid, p.195; Maāsirul-Umarā, Vol.II, p.822.
6. Maāsir-i-'Ālamgiri, p.383;
   But the authors of Maāsiru-l-Umarā, Vol.III, p.822 and of Qāmusul-Mashāheer give the year of his death as 1108 A.H. (1695 A.D.) Vol.I. p.52.
7. Maāsir-u-l-Umarā, Vol.II pp.822-3;
   Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, Vol.II, p.376.

have been responsible for his temporary retirements from service, but his sterling merits received due recognition from Aurangzeb and never failed to recommend him to royal favour.

2. Prince Aẓam Shāh:-[1] There were many poets at his court. He himself was a poet, critic of poetry and a lover of art. In 1079 A.H. some time after Bedil married, he was anxious to earn his livelihood and presented himself at Aẓam Shāh's Court. Since Bedil spoke Persian and Arabic as fluently as the Prince did, and was also valorous, he got the Manṣab (rank) of 500 (Sawars) very soon.

Once, on hearing praise of Bedil's poetic art, the prince asked him to compose a Qaṣida in his honour; Bedil declined to comply with the Prince's wish, took it as an insult, and, forthwith, left the service. However[2] his Kulliyāt contains a fine Qaṣida in praise of the prince.

Bedil[3] was extremely grieved when Aẓam Shāh and his sons Bedār Bakht and Wālājāh were killed in a battle fought against Aẓam Shāh's eldest brother for the throne at Jaju* in 1119 A.H.

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1. Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, pp.18-19.
2. Kulliyāt-e- Saidarī, p.40.
3. Rug'āte-Bedil, p.187

* Jaju near the capital Akbarābād.
(Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 43).

(ii) Jajowan is between Agra and Dholpur.
(Beale's Oriental Bibliographical Dictionary, p.87).

3. Ḥakim Shaikh Husain 'Shuhrat':- (d.1149 A.H.) He was a skilled physician as well as an experienced, exalted poet. He was a comrade of Bedil and Ḥāji Aslam Sālim at Aẓam Shah's court, and had the title of Ḥakimul-Mumālik. He came in close contact with Bedil at the court. He used to compete with Bedil in composing verses. Khushgo composed a chronogram on his death which runs: شہرت مرد. He left a Divān, containing about five thousand couplets.

4. Ḥāji Muhammad Aslam Sālim:[2] He was a Brahmin of Kashmir but embraced Islām later on and went to Mecca on a pilgrimage. He was a friend and rival of Bedil at Aẓam Shāh's court. His long standing friendship with Bedil brought him to Delhi after the murder of Aẓam Shāh. It was usual for each poet to read out his poetry to the other. In order to know Bedil's poetic progress Sālim persistently pressed Bedil to recite his fresh verses.

Salim was the only poet whose Divān was secured by Bedil and perused for a few days during the poet's own lifetime, which was considered to be a mark of signal honour. He was a comtemporary of Bedil and Shaikh Muhsin Fāni and left a Divān[3] which he completed in 1082/1701.

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1. Safina-e-Khushgo pp.201-4.
2. (i) Safina, p.38; (ii) Sham-'e-Anjuman, p.214.
   (iii) Tazkiratush-Sho'arā, p.63.
3. (i) Same as 2(iii) p.63.
   (ii) Tārikh-e-Kashmiri Aẓami p.203.

5. Khwāja 'Abdullāh Sāqi:-[1] (d.1150 A.H.)

He formed friendship with Bedil at Aẓam Shāh's court. He was a native of Lahore, but had come to Delhi for some days. He had a Diwān to his credit.[2]

6. Maulānā 'Abdul 'Aziz 'Izzati[3] He was the son of 'Abdur Rashid of Akbarābād. He was very proficient in "the Traditions," the contemplative sciences, poetry and letter-writing. Besides, he was a skilled warrior also. He had the honour of being Aurangzeb's teacher. In 1080 A.H. he attended Aurangzeb's court at Akbarābād and got a Mansab of 500.* The Emperor wanted to confer upon him the post of Sa'dullāh Khān 'Ālami but death did not spare him. Bedil submitted his verses to him for correction when Bedil was serving under Aẓam Shāh.

Bedil[4] has written four letters to him, one of which is in the "dotless figure" with a Ghazal of the same type at the end. The ending couplet of the Ghazal is as follows:

در طلوعِ کمالِ بیدلِ ما ـ ماه در ہالۂ سہا گردد

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.341.
2. (i) Ma'ārif, Aẓamgarh, July, 1942, p.45.
   (ii) Orient. College Mag. Aug.1952 pp.20 & 54.
   (iii) Subh-e-Gulshan, p.195 C/o.2(ii) p.54.
3. (i) Kalemāt-us-Sho'arā, p.78.
   (ii) Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri, p.98-9.
   (iii) Ruq'āt-e-Bedil, pp.129, 139, 150 and 162.
4. Ruq'āt-e-Bedil, p.150.

* Beale gives 700 (same as 1 above, p.3).

In 1089 A.H. when Maulānā died at the age of 48, Bedil[1] composed two fragments and two chronograms: بُرد ندور از چراغِ عالم and چہل و ہشت سالہ مُرد Bedil composed another chronogram مقامِ فضلاء in 1092 A.H. when a school called Zāwiya-e-'Azizi was started near his tomb in that year. He is the author of the poem called Sāqi-Nāma.[2]

7. Kāmgār Khān[3] (Son of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Ja'far Khān):-

When Bedil left the service of Aṣam Shāh and returned to Akbarābād in 1081 A.H. Kāmgār Khān was appointed in his place. He handled the job successfully. He took keen interest in poetry and was very fond of mendicants, whom he invited to his house and entertained. A large number of poets always associated with him. At his instance Bedil wrote a treatise entitled Burhān-e-I'tibār in praise of the Bāgh-e-Zuhrah of Akbarābād.[4]

Bedil once wrote a letter to him apologising and expressing regret for not seeing him.[5] One fragment in which he congratulated Kāmgār on the occasion of some conquest exists in his Kulliyāt.[6]

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1. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdari, Qit'āt, pp. 47,50 & 51.
2. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.3.
3. (i) Chahār Gulzār pp.492-4; (ii) Mirātul Khayāl, p.396. (iii) Maāsir-e-'Alamgiri, p.103.
4. same as 3(i) pp. 494-500.
5. Ruq'āt-e-Bedil, p.140.
6. Kulliyāt, Qiṭ'āt, p.51.

8. 'Abdur-Rahim.[1] He was a poet with a well-balanced disposition. His pen-name is not mentioned anywhere. In 1081 A.H. during Bedil's stay at Akbarābād one day he wrote on a chit the following couplet containing criticism of Bedil's clean shaving and threw it into the palanquin in which Bedil was seated (was being carried):-

چه خطا در خطِ استادِ ازل دید آیا ـ کہ باصلاح عزیزانش نیاز افتاد است

(What mistake did he notice in the hand writing of the Master of Eternity that he has been compelled to shave off his beard and moustaches).

Bedil promptly wrote the following couplet in reply:-

مختصر کن بہ تغافل ہوس جنگ وجدل ـ تا سر رشتۂ تحقیق دراز افتاد است

(Be indifferent and cut short the desire for quarrel as the thread of research knows no end at all).

9. Maulvi Muhammad Sa'id I'jāz of Akbarābād:[2] (d. 1170 A.H.)

He belonged to the middle class family of Shaikh Muhammad Sufi of Delhi, who looked after the department of education there. He was a favourite pupil of 'Abdul 'Aziz 'Izzat. He had acquired mastery over the contemplative sciences and Traditions of the Prophet. A large number of people was benefited by his teachings. He

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1. *Safine-e- Khushgo*, p.112.

2. (i) Kalemātush- Sho'arā, p.6.
   (ii) Safine-e- Khushgo, p.36.

spent his later life at Multan with the governor of that province, and took to literary pursuits. He worked wonders in the mode of expression of thought in poetry. He was an "equipattarn" of Nāṣir 'Ali and Bedil. He is undoubtedly well-versed in poetics and also a noble, elegant and imaginative poet. He is the author of a Diwān and a Maṣnawi.

10. 'Ashiq Muḥammad Himmat[1]: He was a pupil of Nāṣir 'Ali and a companion of Bedil who used to call him جمن طراز فطرت[2] (the decorator of the garden of Nature). He was a poet of fertile genius. He wrote a Qaṣida in praise of his patron Himmat Khān Bahādur on the pattern of one of the Qaṣidas of Ṭālib Āmuli with considerable success.[3] He had a Diwān and a Maṣnawi to his credit. He was originally a Hindu gold-smith and a neighbour of Nāṣir 'Ali who paid special attention to him and taught him poetics. He embraced Islam after the death of his parents.

11. Nawab Shukrullāh Khān Khāksār[4]: He belonged to the Sayeds of Khawāf and was the son-in-law of 'Āqil Khān Rāzi. Bedil's creative faculties which showed a remarkable and sudden change after his arrival in Delhi in 1096 A.H. were all due to the showering of favours and affections on him by Shukrullāh Khān.

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1. Kalemātush- Sho'arā, p.195.
2. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.127.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.32.
4. ibid, p.17.

Hence any biographer of Bedil cannot consider his biography to be complete unless he pays tribute to this Nawab. His commentary on the Maṣnawi of Maulānā Rūm won for him great renown. He was a skilled jurist; he developed a taste for Ṣufistic principles and later, put them into practice; he respected poets very much. Nāṣir 'Ali of Sirhind in particular, was obliged by him. The bestowal on Bedil, of the ḥaveli (building) of Luṭf 'Ali and a daily allowance of Rs.2 ushered in a new era in the cordial relations between the two. There is hardly any work of Bedil, which does not owe something to Ghukrullāh Khān's advice and guidance. Bedil always made it a point to present to his patron, a copy of each of his major works. The intellectual affinity between them was unique. Muḥiṭ-e-'Aẓam, Tilism-e- Ḥairat, and Gul-e-Ẓard were presented to Ghukrullāh Khān by Bedil, and the Maṣnawi Ṭur-e-Ma'rifat, Gudri Nāma and a poem entitled Chashm-o- Dil was written at the instance of the Nawab. The selection of Bedil's Ghazals also was made by Ghukrullāh Khān. On this occasion Bedil writes:

"لطفِ کریم بہانہ جوست - ہر کرا پسندید پسندید و ہر چہ را برگزید برگزید"۔

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1. Rug'āt-e-Bedil, p. 104.
* Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, p. 24.

Bedil wrote affectionate letters to the Nawab repeatedly and most of his letters addressed to him are to be found in his Kulliyāt. In return for this courtesy the Nawab consulted Bedil in personal matters and considered a visit by him as an unexpected boon. The whole world appeared to Bedil plunged into darkness and Bedil's grief knew no bounds when his loving patron expired on the 8th of Rabi-'ul Awwal 1108 A.H. Under the spell of this storm of grief and sorrow Bedil wrote an elegy on the Nawab with such consummate artistry that every line yields the year of his death and every couplet depicts a picture of grief.[1] He was a sympathetic gentleman who cared little for the worldly life, and whatever money he received from his jagirs and other sources he distributed among deserving people.

In spite of his being the faujdar of the suburbs of the Capital of Shāhjahānābād during 'Ālamgir's reign, he led a pious life and was respected for his virtuousness. His sons Shukre-Ilah Khān,[2] Shākir Khān and Karmullāh alias Āqil Khān 'Āshiq patronised Bedil for a long time after their father's demise.

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.142.(Letters addressed to Shukrullāh Khān).
2. Safina-e-Khushgo, p. 17.

II. 1096 A.H. to 1118 A.H. (The end of 'Ālamgir's reign)

Since 1093 A.H.[1] Aurangzeb was engaged in the South in suppressing the Marathas who were rapidly growing in power. The fact that most of Aurangzeb's efficient noblemen and generals were with him, affected the Moghal administration in the North adversely. His campaign in the South hit the finances of the Empire very hard and laid a heavy burden on the provinces;[2] also, Aurangzeb's absence from the North left the administration in the hands of slack and inefficient officers who oppressed the people.

Exaggerated reports of the defeats of the Royal Army at the hands of the Marathas encouraged the Jats to engage in loot and plunder, and revolt against the Moghals in the neighbourhood of Akbarābād and Mathura. At that time the roads were infested with robbers and insecurity prevailed everywhere. Being deeply perturbed with such a state of affairs, Bedil proceeded to Delhi on 27th Jamādiul Ākhir 1096 A.H. and took his family with him.[3]

Now an era of new relations and contact with the lovers of poetry and the poets was ushered in Bedil's life. According to Rieu[4], Bedil's residence in Delhi remained a centre and refuge for contemporary men of letters till his death.

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1. Maāsir-e- 'Ālamgiri, p.217.
2. A Short History of the Indian People, pp. 273-74.
3. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p. 152.
4. Cat. of MSS. of the London Museum Lib., p. 706
   C/o. The Oriental College Mag., Aug. 1962, p.26.

Immediately[1] after nightfall his pupils and people fond of poetry started gathering at his place. Bedil too came out of the harem after day's work on poetical composition. Then a very interesting and instructive meeting was held.

Some people acknowledged Bedil's poetic art and paid a glowing tribute to him even without seeing him, while some were jealous of him due to his repute.

BEDIL'S PUPILS:

1. Ahmed 'Ibrat:- He, at first, had assumed 'Maftūn' as his pen-name, but afterwards changed it for 'Ibrat at the suggestion of Bedil. He was a favourite pupil of Bedil. He was originally a musician of Delhi who, due to the instructions he received from Bedil, became an excellent poet.[2]

Beale calls him a contemporary of Nāṣir 'Ali and says that he lived about the year 1100/1688.[3] His death occurred in 1125 A.H. Bedil mourned his death for a long time. It was 'Ibrat, who, at the instance of Bedil, accepted Nāṣir 'Ali's challenge to write a Ghazal in imitation to his Ghazal opening with

مُقیم کوئے تو سختی کشانِ دِل تنگ اند ۔ کہ نالہ گر تنگ شد ناش آتشِ سنگ اند

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.112.
2. Miratul-Khayāl, pp. 372-87 & Safina-e- Khushgo, p.68.
3. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.175.

2. Mir Karmullah 'Āshiq:- He was the youngest son of Nawab Shukrullāh Khān and a pupil of Bedil. 'Āshiq has a Diwān to his credit. Once Bedil remarked that in verse - making Mir Karamullāh had surpassed even Bedil himself. He followed Bedil's style in poetry. Bedil loved him very much. This can be well judged by the verses Bedil wrote when, once, 'Āshiq went somewhere, perhaps on a journey, and did not write to him:[1]

غبار باشم بهر طپیدن هزار بیدادی نگارم - لبم فرسود خامه لا هنوز فریادی نگارم

(The pangs of separation are reducing me to dust, I am recording thousand injustices. Although my pen has turned into collyrium I am continuously writing out complaints.)

On another occasion when Karamullāh Khān was in sore straits, Bedil handed over to him 200 Ashrafis he had received from Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān. 'Āshiq had admirable moral qualities. Bedil mourned his loss very much when 'Āshiq expired in 1124 A.H.* He has left a beautiful masterly Diwān.

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p. 176.
   (i) Safina-e- Khushgo, 58.
   (iii) Kalemātush- Sho'arā, p.80.
2. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p. 176.

* Tazkiratush- Sho'arā gives 1125 A.H. (p.86). Moreover 'Āshiq is mentioned as the eldest son of Shukrullāh Khān Khāksār.

3. Niẓāmu-ul-mulk Aṣif Jāh:-[1] (b. in India in 1082 A.H.)
His ancestors hailed from Samarqand. His original name was Mir Qamruddin. His father Shihābuddin Ghāziuddin Khān was a favourite Turkaman officer of the emperor 'Ālamgir. He also distinguished himself during the reign of 'Ālamgir who conferred on him the title of Chin Kulich Khān.* At the time of Bahādur Shāh he received the title of Khān e- Dauran Bahādur (Niẓāmul-Mulk) and was made the governor of Oudh and faujdar of Lucknow. He retired from public life for some time due to unfavourable circumstances. In the reign of Jahāndār Shāh he got the former office again. During Farrukhsiyar's reign he held the government of Murādabād and was later appointed governor of Malwa which was restored to a flourishing condition by him. His reputation rendered him an object of jealousy to the two brothers Sayed 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Ali Khān who wished to remove him to a place less favourable to him than the frontier of the Deccan; but Niẓāmul- Mulk, not willing to quit his post, excused himself and resolved to seek an independent power in the Deccan. The disturbed state of that

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1. (i) Maāgirul-Umarā, Vol.III, pp.838-48.
(ii) Khazāna-e- 'Amera, pp. 35-49.
(iii) Safina-e- Hindi, pp.7-8.
(iv) Maāgir-e- 'Ālamgiri, p.340.
(v) 'Iqde - Surrayyā, p.6.
(vi) Gul-e- 'Aja'ib, pp.21-22.
(vii) Ma'ārif A'zamgarh, June 1963 pp.379-79.
(viii) An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, pp.302-3.

* Sukhanwarān-e- Baland Fikr, p.51.

country gave him a pretence to raise an army and conquer the Deccan. By intrigue and corruption he captured the fort of Asirgarh in or about 1717 A.D., and won the support of several officers of the province.

The Emperor sent Dilāwar Khān and 'Alam 'Ali Khān with a contingent of the Imperial Army to punish the Nizām. The Nizām's forces and those of the Emperor met in battle in which victory went to the Nizām while the Emperor's officers were slain on the field. There was no one to oppose the Nizām who thus enjoyed a peaceful life in the Deccan. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, after the death of the Sayeds, and the minister Muḥammad Amin Khān, he was invited to court by the Emperor; and when he came to Delhi, the high office of the prime minister was offered to him, but he soon got disgusted with the state of affairs at the Emperor's court and after resigning, marched off to the Deccan and founded an independent state there. He governed the provinces of the Deccan for thirty years with great ability and success. Both 'Shākir' and 'Āṣif' were his pen-names. He was a pupil of Bedil and whenever Bedil went topay a visit to him, the Nizam vacated his masnad (seat of honour) for him as a mark of high regard.[1] Bedil wrote many letters to him and Bedil's[2] Kulliyāt contains several fragments* on him.

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1. Sarwe - Āzād, p.149.
2. Kulliyāt-e- Ṣafdari, pp.44-45.

* The fragments are, in fact, addressed to Shukrullāh Khān's son Shākir Khān a the latter's full name, Shākir Khān and not Shākir the pen-name of the Nizām, appears in them.

A number of incidents regarding Bedil and Niẓāmul-Mulk has been recorded by their biographers. On the downfall of the Sayed Brothers (Sādāt Bārah) in 1133 A.H. when the Niẓām declared his independence, he invited Bedil to the Deccan, but Bedil declined modestly and wrote:

دُنیا اگر دہند نہ جُنبم زجای خویش ۔ من بستہ ام حنای قناعت بہ پای خویش

(Even if they give me the whole world, I am not going to budge an inch from my place, as I have applied henna of contentment to my feet).

Bedil's suggestions played an important part in the compilation of Nawab's Diwan. Two of his Diwans[3] are extant.

According to Dr.'Abdul Ḥaq Shafiq[4] of Aurangābād wrote Maāṣir-e- Niẓāmi which contains incidents from the life of Niẓāmul-Mulk and his ancestors, to some of which the author had been an eye-witness and some he came to know from trustworthy people, while some were narrated to him by Niẓāmul-Mulk himself.

4. Mir 'Abdus Samad 'Sukhan'[5]:- His pen-name 'Sukhan' was given to him by Bedil. Khān-e-Ārzū regarded him as his teacher. Sukhan was fond of cracking jokes in company.

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1. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, pp. 152-53.
2. ibid, p. 153.
3. She'r-o- Sukhan, Part I (Hindi) p. 747
4. Chamanistān-e- Sho'arā, Muqaddama, p. 2.
5. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 170-71 & 87-88.

He went to Gujarat (خطۂ پنجاب) with Mubārizul-Mulk Sarbaland Khān and died there during the reign of Farrukhsiyar in 1141 A.H. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil[1] contains one letter in his name, which shows that he used to send his verses to Bedil for correction. Bedil praises him and prays for him:

رنگینیٔ بہارِ سخن لایزال باد

Once he presented a beautiful dagger made in Burhanpur to Bedil[2] who at once remarked; "The make of this dagger is a convincing proof of the existence of Burhanpur"(ترکیب این جمدھر بہ نشان برہانپور برہانِ قاطع است کامل) and then wrote two enigmas on it (on this occasion). Mir 'Abdus Ṣamad was always needy as he associated with Manṣabdars whose income was very meagure and who may have been his dependents. In Safina-e- Khushgo[3] this has been recorded under the account of Shaikh 'Aẓmatullāh of Murādābād.

5. Lālā Shiv Ramdas 'Hayāt':[4] (d. 1144 A.H. at Akbarābād) He was the second son of Rai Bhagti Mal and brother of Rājā Daya Mal 'Imtiyāz' and was one of the employees of Asad Khān, the minister of 'Alamgir. He was a pupil of Bedil and is the author of a prose work entitled Gulgasht-e-Bahāre-e-Iram in the style of Chahār 'Unsur of Bedil.[5] It is the

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.148-49.
2. Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1952, p.34.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 170-71 & 87-8.
4. (i) Ṣubh-e- Gulshan, p.144; (ii) Hamesha Bahār, p.121 C/o. Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1952 A.H. p.34; (iii) Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.183-85; (iv) Adbiyāt-e- Fārsi men Hinduon Kā Hissa, p.172.
5. Same as 4(iii) above, pp.183-84.

description of Brij which is in the vicinity of Mathurā and Brindrāban and the details of another place considered by him to be the birthplace of Krishna. Besides being a prose-writer with an individual style, he was also a poet of some merit. He is the author of a Diwan of about 5000 verses.[1]

6. Lālā Sukh Rāi Sabqat:[2] (d. 1138 A.H.) A versatile learned man as he was, he was a pupil of Bedil and belonged to the Kā'ith (Kāyasth) community of Unāw (اناؤ). He served under Nawab Asadullāh Khān, the minister of 'Alamgir and excelled in elocuence, grammar, expression, enigmas, chronograms, rhetoric, medical science, metaphysical terminology and Sufistic problems. He spent his later life under Raja Girdhar Gujarati. He picked a quarrel with the Raja and was killed. He wrote a Masnawi entitled Jang Nama-e- Fatha in honour of Sayed Husain 'Ali Khān after the style of Shāh-Nāma of Firdausi.

7. Sheikh Muhammad 'Atāullah 'Atā:[3] (d. 1135/1723 at Delhi) He was a native of Amroha Murādābād, and a pupil of Bedil. He was witty by nature. He enlivened conversation in meetings of learned men by spicy sayings. He was a genius and whenever he attended the assembly of Bedil the latter turned to

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.159.
2. (i) Gubh-e- Gulshan, p.197; (ii) Roz-e- Raushan, p.29. (iii) Nishtar-e- 'Ishq (MS.) p.232. (iv) Adbiyāt-e- Fārsi men Hinduon kā Hissa, p.172. (v) Sprenger, p.117.
3. Safina-e- Hindi, p.134 and 1 above, p.83.

vulgar verses instead of Sufistic ones and remarked that 'Atā only deserved the imitation of his vulgar verse. Once Bedil presented his own inkstand and a bayāz of selected couplets to him and 'Atā composed a quatrain as a token of thanks. On the death of Bedil 'Atā wrote a chronogram in the metre of Khāliq-e- Bāri: عبدالقادر بیدل رفت which exceeds the correct date by 4 and if 'Bedil' is read as 'Be 'dāl' meaning without the latter 'dāl' it yields the exact date of Bedil's death. Throughout his life, he was the guiding force behind the vigour and splendour with which Bedil's annual 'Urs was celebrated. He followed the traditional style in poetry and his verses are easy and lucid.

8. Rindrāban Dās Khushgo:-[1] He was born at Mathura* but Beale** calls him a Bania and, wrongly as it would seem a native of Banāras. He had a superb taste in Persian poetry, which he carefully cultivated under the guidance of his learned teachers Afzal Sarkhush, Mirzā Bedil, Shāh Gulshan and Ārzu respectively.

At once place Khushgo[2] writes that Mirzā Bedil selected the poetical names of Khushgo, Shaikh Sa'dullāh Gulshan and Mir 'Abdus Samad Sukhan on one and the same day while

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1. (i) Majma'un Nafā'is p.137; (ii) Gule-Rānā c/o 2 below p.
   (iii) Maqālātush-sho'arā, p.34 A.
   (iv) Takmilatush-Sho'arā, p.14 A.
   (v) Safina-e- Hindi, p.67.
   (vi) Roz-e- Raushan p.206 C/o. Safina-e- Khushgo pp. ز، ح، ط
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.167.
* Safina-e- Khushgo p.247: متھرا کہ دلمن فقیرست ...
** Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.219.

when giving an account of Sarkhush, Khushgo[1] has contradicted himself and says that Sarkhush had suggested 'Khushgo' as his takallus.

In the absence of any other pen-name of Khushgo we are led to believe that Bedil must have approved the one given by Sarkhush.

Khushgo[2] had the honour of attending Bedil's assembly one thousand times. He had noted down Bedil's remarks made during the nocturnal discussions; but most probably, this valuable and precious material has been lost during the course of the intervening centuries.[3] Consequently, he prepared, after a hard labour of 25 years, three volumes of Safina-e- Khushgo, the first two of which contain notices of about 907 Persian poets of ancient and medieval times, specimen of their verses, accounts of his immediate predecessors, poets and critical appreciation of their poetry. Sprenger, Ethe and Rieu, who have given a list of the contents of the first two volumes of Safina-e- Khushgo, do not seem to have been aware of its third volume, and according to them, it was not extent. Happily this volume which is preserved in the Khudā Bakhsh library, Patna, is now edited and published by Prof. 'Atāur-Rahmān Kākvi. The manuscript had been in the possession of Āzād Pilgrāmi and was scribed for him only.[4]

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.75.
2. ibid. p.117.
3. ibid, p. ~ .
4. Ma'ārif, May 1942, p.358.

it is full of errors. It gives notices of about 245 Indian poets, including also meritorious Hindu poets like Ulfat, Mukhlis, Bairāgi Begham etc.

This book probably contains more details of Mirzā Bedil's life and achievements in the art of poetry and the domain of Mysticism, than those given by any other contemporary writer. '<u>Safina-e- Khushgo</u>'[1] is a chronogram which yields 1147/1734 as the date of completion of the work. At Khushgo's request Khān-e- Ārzū made some glosses and added a preface to it in 1155/1742.

<u>Safina-e- Khushgo</u>[2] was dedicated to 'Umdatul- Mulk Amir Khān 'Anjām' who duly recognised and sanctioned a daily allowance of Rs.2/- for Khushgo.

The third volume comprises the details of the life of Persian poets who flourished during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. (i.e. 1131 A.H. to 1161 A.H.).

Khushgo acquired preliminary education from his own uncle Sadānand "Betakalluf"[3] and 'Begham'[4] Bairāgi.

By virtue of his service and mode of life he had the chance of staying in big cities of India, and meeting the poets, and the outstanding merit of his Tazkira is that he

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.219.
2. Takmilatush-Sho'arā, p.14 C/o.Safina-e- Khushgo (,).
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.71-2.
4. ibid, p.101.

gives the accounts of most of his contemporary poets on the strength of his first-hand information about them. Scholars interested in the growth and development of Indo-Persian poetry as well as in the cultural activities under the patronage of the Moghal rulers of India will find abundant and useful information in this work.

In his Safina he says that he was a follower of the great Persian poet Shifā'i[1] (1037/1627), but in my humble opinion his fame rests to a greater extent on his Tazkira which is comprehensive, complete and correct, rather than on his poetry.

9. Mirzā Barkhurdār Nairi, 'Fardi':-[2] He was an intelligent pupil of Bedil and was fond of playing practical jokes. He stayed at Ahmedabad for a considerable time in connection with his service. Once, when the accountant (محرّرِ دفترِ برات) stopped his allowances for five days, he wrote a fine fragment and submitted it to the King. Another fragment from his pen is a satire on the royal butler Hakim Mir Muhammad. He along with Prince Muhammad A'zam Shāh was killed in a battle.

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1. Adbiyāte-Fārsi men Hinduon kā Hissa. p.177.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 47-8.

10. Gurbakhsh Huzuri[1] (d. 1147 A.H.)[2]. He belonged to the Kambuh community of the Punjab, but had settled at Mathura for a long time. At first he was a pupil of Mir Ma'sūm Mashrab and then studied poetics deeply for years together with Mirzā Bedil.

He lived in Shāhjahānābād and served Sayed Qutbuddin 'Ali Khān as a clerk on a meagre salary. He was a contented and righteous man. He had versified, though incompletely, the Indian story of the love of Kāmrūp and Kāmalatā very elegantly in the metre of Shirin Khusrau.

He is very fond of punning and in imitation of Maulānā Ghani, the pioneer among enigma-writers, wrote 10,000 parallel verses but most of Huzuri's ideas are original. He has, in all, composed about 1,30,000 couplets.

11. Mughal Khān Qābil[3] (d. 1142 A.H.). He was the eldest son of Mughal Khān. One of the pupils of Bedil as he was, he was a good poet. He changed his poetical name to "Ṣan'at"[4]. He composed a chronogram on the death of Bedil by way of Ta'miya:[5]

سالِ تاریخِ وفاتِ بیدلِ عالی مقام ۔ از سرِ بینائی دل گفتہ شد ختم کلام

1133 = (91+1040 + 2)

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 348-49.
2. Adbiyāt-e- Fārsi men Hinduon ka Hissa, p.175.
3,4&5 Safina-e- Khushgo, p.213.

"ختم کلام" = ۱۱۳۱ + ب = ۲ = ۱۱۳۳ *

He had a lofty imagination.

12. Izad Bakhsh 'Rasā'i-[1] He was a pupil of 'Abdul 'Aziz 'Izzat. He was originally a Shi'a but later became a Sunni under the influence of Shaikh 'Izzat and assumed 'Sunni' itself as his pen-name for some time, and then adopted Rasā.

In view of his tall stature Bedil suggested 'Rasā' as his takallus which he gladly and respectfully accepted. Bedil wrote three letters to him.[2]

One letter reveals that he had sent a Ghazal to Bedil for correction.[3] His manuscript of letters called 'Riyāzus-Sawād' (ریاض السواد)[4] is reserved in the Punjab University Library, and a treatise entitled Haqqul-Yaqin with six other treatises, in the Kutub Khāna-e- Āsifiya Hyderabad (Deccan).

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.45.
2. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p . 74, 90, 115.
3. ibid, p.90.
4. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.45.
5. Cat. of MSS. Āsifia Library, pp. 416-17.

* Dr.'Abdul Ghani, perhaps on the authority of Subh-e-Gulshan says that he did so at the suggestion of his master. Moreover, because of the absence of the complete couplet, he misunderstood the chronogram and remarked that it falls short by 2.
(Oriental College Magazine, Aug. 1952, pp.36-37.)

Rasā writes at one place that Bedil, Muḥammad Ibrāhim and Khwāja Ḥabibullāh were staying with him in a caravan-sarāi. A scuffle started among the guards (lit. musketeers); the poets were watching the fight when an arrow hit Rasā in the side and wounded him. (If the guards were musketeers, Rasā should have been wounded by a gunshot, not an arrow as the biographer says.)

At two more places Rasā mentions Bedil as

(1) "بیدل ہم دل را دیدم"

(2) "میرزا عبدالقادر بیدل کہ سراپا دل است ....."

During the reign of 'Ālamgir he was a superintendent of the Royal estate at Akbarabad and the superintendent of the government treasury (Khazāna-e- 'Āmera). He was also a subedar for sometime.[1]

Prince Sultān Muḥammad A'ẓam, 2nd son of Shāh 'Ālam came to Akbarābād from 'Aẓimābād and took charge of the royal army, called for Mirzā Izad Baksh to the Prince's residence and humiliated him unduly on the pretext that the poet was siding the opponents. Deeply wounded by this accusation, after extricating himself from that situation, Rasā took deadly poison and died in 1119 A.H.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 45.

Mirzā Ḥātim Baig wrote the chronogram:[1]

رسا رفته از جهان بجنان

۱۱۱۹ھ = ۱۰۶ + ۵۹ + ۸ + ۶۸۵ + ۲۶۱

Beale[2] gives his account as follows: "He was the grandson of Āṣif Khān Ja'far Beg, who was Wazir to Jehāngir. Imad Baksh was at first employed by the prince 'Aẓim Shāh, and then by his father the emperor 'Ālamgir in the capacity of Munshi. On the accession of Farrukhsiyar he was disgraced by him for having cast some reflections on his father 'Aẓim-ush-Shān on account of the battle that took place between 'Aẓim Shāh and his brother Bahādur Shāh. By the order of the emperor, the hairs of his mustaches were plucked out one by one, and afterwards he was cruelly murdered. This event took place about the beginning of the year A.D. 1713 A.H. 1125; " Beale has given a different date of his death, and the other particulars are also quite different from those recorded by Khushgo.

12. <u>Muḥammad Amin 'Irfān</u>[3]- He was one of Bedil's pupils and enjoyed the post of Mansabdar. Bedil[4] on his return from the journey of Mewāt with Nawab Shukrullāh Khān,

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 45.
2. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 106.
3. Tazkira-e- Mahbubuzzaman, p.1014.
4. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.102.

sent to Amin a copy of his immortal Masnavi, Tur-e- Ma'rifat, (also called Gulgasht-e- Haqiqat[1]) he wrote after being impressed and inspired greatly by the beautiful scenes of the mountains of Herāt in the rainy season. In the incident[2] which took place at Ṣafdar-Jāh's residence when Bedil's shaving off of his beard and mustaches were criticised, it was Muḥammad Amin Khān, the murderer of Nawab Sayed Ḥusain 'Ali Khān who was involved and not Muḥammad Amin 'Irfān.

13. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Ilqāi-[3] He belonged to the family of Shaikhs of Indian origin and was a friend of Nāṣir 'Ali. Though he was a taciturn man, he was a very good poet. All his verses are estimated to be about two thousand. He knew adequately all the branches of learning and specially in enigme-writing and chronogram-writing was second to none during his time. He taught physics also. Sometimes when he was in a fit of madness he turned his face to the sky, started abusing everybody and struck his shoe on the ground. In short, he had a split personality.

Once Khushgo, who had arranged a poetic symposium went to invite him also. He declined and remarked:

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.133.
2. Nigāristān-e- Fārs, p.179, and Tazkira-e- Ḥusaini, pp.74-5.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.278.

"The only poet worth the name was Nāṣir 'Ali who is dead now, Bedil who knew a little of poetics has also died. Now the only poet left is myself. Give me the money you are spending on the festivities, so that I should utilise it for wine and woman ——— "[1]

He[2] had written a few chapters of his prose work entitled Chahār Kaifiyat which was stolen by someone to whom he was dictating it after losing his sight.

Khushgo[3] acknowledges him as his teacher but says that he had learnt only one lesson from Makhzan-e- Asrar from him during the reign of Bahādur Shāh.

14. Mirzā 'Ibadullah:-[4] He was the maternal uncle of Bedil, while Dr. 'Abdul Ghani[5] calls him Bedil's cousin. Bedil[6] addressed him as "Ikhwān Panāh" (Shelter of companions). He sent his Ghazals to Bedil for correction. Bedil had presented him a copy of the Masnawi Tur-e- Ma'rifat also, in token of his high regard. After the death of Bedil 'Ibadullah's son Mirzā Muhammad Sa'id was made a successor to Bedil. In Majmu'a-e- Naghz[7] we come across the account of his descendant Mirzā Afzalullāh of Pānipat, who was an Urdu poet.

Khushgo[8] has quoted only one couplet of Mirzā 'Ibādullāh.

1&2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.278.
3 ibid. p.279.
4&8. ibid, p.121.
5 Oriental College Mag. Aug.1952, p.38.
6 Rug'āt-e- Bedil, pp.91,96,113,114,129.
7. Majmu'a-e- Naghz, Vol.II, p.179.

15. Nawāb Ḥusain Quli Khān:-[1] He had the title of Khān-e- Daurān. He was a poet and sent his Ghazals to Bedil for correction. Nawab's Diwān was lying with Bedil who once wrote to him that he (Bedil) had carefully gone through it once again and that there was no harm in getting it scribed. Ḥusain Quli Khān followed Bedil's style. As Quli Khān's diction was not refined enough, Bedil advised him to read his (Bedil's) works.

Maāgirul-Umarā, Maāṣir-e- 'Ālamgiri, Muntakhabul-lubāb, Khazāna-e- 'Amera and Sarw-e- Āzād do not give a special account of him independently.

Maāṣirul- Umarā[2] of course mentions one Ḥusain Qulich Khan Bahadur who was the governor (Ṣubedār) of Bijapur in the 50th reignal year of 'Ālamgir. In one of his letters, Bedil expresses his joy on Ḥusain Quli Khān's return to 'Akbarābād from the Deccan. Perhaps Ḥusain Qulich Khān Bahādur and Ḥusain Quli Khān are one and the same personality.[4]

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, pp. 176, 184.
2. Maāṣirul Umarā, Vol.III, p.32.
3. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p. 184.
4. Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1952, p.39.

BEDIL'S PATRONS, FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS

1. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir:- He could appreciate and compose poetry.[1] In spite of his variegated and unusual pursuits he secured a copy of the Diwān of Bedil and perused it. In addition to this he has quoted three of Bedil's couplets appropriately in his three letters, written to A'zam Shāh and Asad Khān.[2]

So far as Bedil[3] is concerned he very much praises 'Ālamgir for the latter's personal religiousness and his regard for Islam.

Bedil wrote chronograms on the victories won in the Deccan by 'Ālamgir. One of these given here, is quoted by Maāsirul-Umarā also:

سالِ این تاریخ تا روشن شود بر عالمین ـ گفت هاتف بازن و فرزند سنبها شد اسیر

۱۱۰۰ = ۷۷ + ۳۶۱ + ۱۱۸ + ۳۶۱ + ۲۷

(In order that the year of this chronogram should be known to both the worlds, Hātif (God) said, "Sambhāji has been made a captive along with his wife and children ").

Nawwāb Zafar Jang[5] also had asked Bedil for these chronograms.

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1. Bazm-e- Taimuria, p. 262.
2. Ruq'āt-e- 'Ālamgiri pp. 8,19,46,27.
3. Kulliyāt-e- Sofdari, Qitāt, p.49.
4. ibid, p.49.
5. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.44.

2. Qāẓi 'Abdur Rahim:- (d. 1131 A.H.). He was the father of Shāh Waliullāh of Delhi. He was highly esteemed as a connoisseur in poetics and literature. 'Ālamgir sent for him, but he declined the invitation, while the Qāẓi Sāheb voluntarily and humbly bored down before Bedil and praised him in both prose and poetry. Bedil[1] too returned in one of his letters to the Qāẓi Sāheb, the compliment.

3. Mir 'Ināyatullāh Shākir Khān:-[2] (d. 1139 / 1726). He was one of the younger sons of Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān[3]. Shākir Khān's mother Ḥāfiẓa Mariam was the tutor of Princess Zebun-Nisā; Through her influence her son 'Ināyatullāh was raised, by degrees to the rank of Captain of 2500 horse.

In the reign of Farrukhsiyar, he was promoted to the command of the rank of 4000 horse, and in that of Muḥammad Shāh, of 7000 horse.

He patronised Bedil and appreciated poetry although he was not a poet. He secured a Jāgir for Bedil from the Emperor 'Ālamgir but Bedil did not accept it.[4]

Bedil's sincerity is well mirrored in the forceful, fluent benedictory couplets scattered in different places in the letters.

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1. Ruq'at-e- Bedil, p.136.
2. ibid, p.144.
3. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.179.
4. Same as 1 above, p.177.

Besides many other fragments, a very long and forceful fragment celebrating the arrival of Mir Shākir Khān is to be found in the Kulliyāt of Tedil.[1] He was the author of the work Ahkām-e- 'Ālamgiri and compiler of the Kalmāt-e- Ṭaiyabāt.

4. Nawab Sa'ādatullāh Khān[2]- He was the constitutional Nawab of the Karnatak. As he had no issues he had adopted two sons of his brother. His death was much regretted by his subjects. According to the Maāsirul- Umarā he held the Nawabship of Karnatak from the time of Aurangzeb to 1145 / 1732.

He was very fond of poetry. The MS. of his work entitled 'Gulshan-e- Sa'ādat'[3] exists in the Punjab University Library, and one MS. of the same is with the writer of this thesis, but it is incomplete. It contains a letter addressed to Tedil in a very humble and modest tone. In this letter Sa'ādatullāh has asked Tedil to provide him with Ṭilism-e- Ḥairat, Muḥit-e- Aẓam and the Bayāz-e- Khās. The last mentioned is preserved in the British Museum, London and its particulars are given by Rieu in his Cat. of Persian MSS. Gulshan-e- Sa'ādat was compiled in 1131 A.H.[4] (See p.296).

5. Āqā Ibrāhim Faiẓān:[5]- (d. 1124 A.H.) He was the son of Āqā Muḥammad Ḥusain, Nāji.* He was a genius, and

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1. Kulliyāt-e- Safdari, pp. 44, 45 & 55.
2. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.337.
3. Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, p.33.
4. Maāsirul- Umarā, Vol. II, p.513.
5. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 65-67.

* On p.65 'Nāmi' is printed instead of 'Nāji' which is correct as Khushgo has repeated it at two different places, i.e. pp. 70 & 317.

an original and elegant poet. His poetry is very lucid and he has written fine prose too.

He had ample knowledge[2] of speculative science physiognomy (علوم سیمیا) and the Traditions and the contemplative sciences. He was a calligrapher and unique in letter-writing. Nāṣir 'Ali regarded him to be superior to all others in poetry. He held poetical assemblies at his residence very often and invited Bedil to them and entertained him; they had jovial and convivial meetings. Khushgo too attended the meetings. Khān-e- 'Ārzu remarks about him that he was very proud and arrogant. He was very fond of vocal music and had acquired considerable skill in it. His poetry is very fine, but his versification is occasionally slipshod. He died of consumption in his youth.

6. Mir Muḥammad Zemān Khān Rāsikh:- [2] (d. 1107 A.H.)

He hailed from Sirhind. He was the son of Mir. 'Imād and a pupil of his uncle Mir Mafākhir Ḥusain Sāqib. He tried much for the comprehension of the contemplative sciences and the Traditions of the Prophet. He was a Sayed, and a respectable officer in the service of prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh. Rāsikh was an excellent poet with subtle imagination, intricacy and

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.69 and Kalemātush-Sho'arā, p.96.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 7 & 9.
* Beale gives 'Prince 'Aẓim Shāh.

distinctive style of his own. He expressed noble ideas beautifully in exotic words.[1] He had close contact with Bedil. Nāsikh, Bedil, Ḥāji Aslam Sālim and Shuhrat were equipatterns of one another in the royal army at Gujarat. Sarkhush[2] speaks highly of his skill at repartee and great intelligence.

Irādat Khān Wāẓih was his pupil and Mir Ma'sūm 'Wijdān' his eldest son and successor in poetry.

He died in 1107/1695 at Sirhind.[3] Sarkhush[4] wrote a chronogram: خرد گفت با دل کہ آسیخ بمرد He is the author of a Diwān and a Masnavi called Dād-o- Faryād.

7. Muhammad Hafi' Khān Bāzil (d. 1123 A.H. /1711)[5]

He was the son of Mirzā Tāhir Muhammad of Mashhad. His ancestors had come to Delhi in the time of Shāh Jahān. Beale[6] calls him a descendant of Ja'far Sarond Mashhadi. For some years he had the command of the fort of Gwalior during 'Ālamgir's reign.[7] After his death he lived in retirement in Delhi, where he died.

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1. Mirātul Khayāl, pp.306-7.
2&4 Kalemātush Sho'arā, p.42.
3. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.332.
5. (i) Tazkiratush- Sho'arā, p.23.
(ii) Sarve - Āzād, p.142.
(iii) Oriental College Mag. Aug.1952, p.39.
According to Khushgo he died during the reign of Bahādur Shāh (Safina-e- Khushgo, p.57).

'Abdul Ghani[1] says that he was attached to the government of Bāns Bareilly.

He versified the prose book Ma'ārijun-Nabuwwat in the form of an excellent Masnawi of 40,000[2] couplets* using the metre of Shāhnāma of Firdausi and named it Hamla-e- Haidari. It contains an account of the religious wars of the Prophet and the four Khalifas (Caliphs). A MS.[3] of 18th century was there in the library of Sayed[4] 'Ali Bilgrāmi. He is also the author of a Diwān of Ghazals. He was a skilled and original poet with high ideals.

In a friendly letter Bedil[5] has recommended one Mir Muhammad and his friends to him when he was, perhaps, the governor of Bāns Bareilly.

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1. Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1952, p. 39.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.56.
3. & 4. Cat. of Per. MSS. in the Private Library of Shamsul- Ulamā Sayed 'Ali Bilgrāmi.
5. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.128.

* Sarw-e- Āzād (p.142) gives 90,000.

THE REIGN OF SHAH 'ALAM BAHADUR SHAH.
(1119 A.H. to 1123 A.H.)

Aurangzeb breathed his last in 1118/1707 combating the Marathas in the Deccan. His death led to a fierce battle between his sons for the throne, and Muhammad Mo'azzam (Bahādur Shāh) became the master of the Peacock Throne. During this period also Bedil was at the pinnacle of glory. True appreciators of poetry quickly gathered round him like moths.

HIS PUPILS:-

1. Rāsi:-[1] * He was a Hindu and wrote poetry in Persian under the guidance of Bedil. Once in literary assembly where Sayed Muhammad (son of Mir 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrāmi), Bedil and Rāsi were present, Bedil advised him to recite only genteel verses before the nobles and the great men.

2. 'Umdatul-Mulk Nawab Amir Khān 'Anjām':- (d. 1159 A.H.) He was the son of 'Ālamgir's principal** favourite with the same name i.e. 'Ālamgir, and a descendant of the celebrated Shāh Ne'matullāh Wali.[2] He was appointed governor of Allahabad in 1152/1739, and recalled to court in 1156/1743.[3]

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1. Tazkira-e- Jalwa-e- Khizr, p.97.
2. Tabqāte Sukhan C/o. Hamāri Zabān, 15th Jan.1960, p.15.
3. (i) Oriental Biographical Dictionary,p.71.
   (ii) Bazm-e- Sukhan, p.98. (iii) 'Iqd-e- Surayyā, p.9.
   (iv) Tazkira-e- Rikhta Goyān, p.2.
   (v) Nuskha-e- Dilkushā, p.35.

* In the Oriental College Mag. Aug.1952 (p.43) "Rāmi" is given which seems to be a misprint.

** According to Shafiq his father's name was Mir Mirān, Amir Khān Yazdi. (Chamanistān-e- Sho'arā,p.30).

Muḥammad Shāh got disgusted with 'Anjām's' impudence. In consequence he was, with the consent of the emperor, stabbed in the left side with a dagger by a person* who had been discharged from his service, and fell down dead on the spot. He was buried after four days in the sepulchre of his grand-father Khalilullāh Khān, which is close to the Sarāe of Rūḥ-u-llāh Khān at Delhi.

He[1] was a sincere and devoted follower of Bedil. When Bedil turned to verse-making in Urdu he followed suit. Anjam was very proficient in Persian and Arabic and knew Sanskrit and Bhasha also full well. His "dohe" and "kabita" were sung in the "Bazaars" and lanes of Delhi for long. His valuable library of rare books, and his verses were all destroyed with him. He was highly cultured and had acquired skill in many arts.

Safina-e- Khushgo[2] was dedicated to him. He composed logographs, and has left Persian and Rekhta poems.

3. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Jamāl Talāsh:[3] (d. 1127 A.H.). He was a pupil of Bedil who had given him his takhallus 'Talāsh',[4] while Sarkhush[5] claims him as his own pupil. He was very

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1. Dāstān-e- Urdu, p. 75-76. Only a few couplets of Bedil in Urdu are extant.
2. Takmilātush-Sho'arā, leaf 14 A.C. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. '?'(?)
3. Ṣubḥ-e- Gulshan, p.90.
4. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.86.
5. Kalemātush- Sho'arā, p.21.

* Khazāna-e- 'Āmera (pp.77,78) says "a new servant".

kind to Khushgo and visited him quite often. He was inclined to be a little crazy but was sincere. He was a poet of true genius and had a penetrating intellect. He used to stammer slightly. At the time of Shāh 'Ālam he was seen in Bedil's assemblies. Bedil appreciated one of his couplets very much. He has left a Dīwān and his verse is not devoid of originality and elegance.

4. Qayyum Khān Fidā'i:- [1] He was the son of 'Aqil Khān Rāzi and a pupil of Bedil to whom he sent his Ghazals for correction. Bedil wrote him four letters. In one of them Bedil[2] congratulates him on composing a successful Ghazal.

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p. 75, 182-184, 199.
2. ibid, p.184.

PATRONS, FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS OF BEDIL

1. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh:-[1] Shahinshāh Mo'azzam very often asked Bedil through his minister Mun'im Khān Khānān who was an old chum of Bedil, to write Shāhnāma. Khān Khānān wrote to Bedil five or six times for this purpose, but Bedil did not comply with his request and finally wrote to him expressing his regrets thus:-

"خواه مخواه مزاج پادشاه بدین پایه است. من فقیرم جنگ نمی توانم کرد۔
ترکِ ممالکِ محروسه نموده بولایت می روم"[2]

2. Mun'im Khān Khānān 'Mun'im':-[3] (d. 1123 A.H. at Lahore)*
He was the son of Sultān Baig Barlās, a noble who had been Bahādur Shāh's principal officer at Qābul (Kābul) and was, later on, appointed his wasir with the title of Khān Khānān. He proved a capable administrator.

He offended the Emperor Bahādur Shāh by his conduct in a campaign against the Sikhs in 1710, and hence he was disgraced. He was the author of the works called Ilhāmāt-e-Mun'imi and Makāshifāte Mu'imi. He was Bedil's patron and

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.109.
2. ibid, p.115.
3. (i) Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.279.
   (ii) Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 53-54.

* Mushafi wrongly gives 1102 A.H. ('Iqd-e- Surayyā, p.13).

companion also. Hakim Chand[1] wrote the following chronogram on his death:

شد از عالم وزیر شاه عالم

۱۱۴۳ = ۱۶۱ + ۳۰۶ + ۲۲۳ + ۱۶۱ + ۸ + ۳۰۴

Munim was generous, God-fearing learned and intelligent.

3. Mir 'Asmatullāh 'Bekhabar' Bilgrāmi:-[2] (d. 1142/1729 at Delhi) . He was a Ṣufi poet and the son and disciple of Luṭfullāh Bilgrāmi.[3] He moved in Bedil's company when in Delhi. He talks of his meeting with Bedil in his Safina-e- Bekhabar and this is retold by Āzād Bilgrāmi in Sarw-e- Āzād. Bekhabar praises Bedil for his good moral character, fine taste and mystic poetry, and further says that nothing but elegant verses (came up for discussion at the meeting.

He was laid to rest beside the Mausoleum of Niẓāmuddin Auliyā after his death.

4. Mir 'Abdul Jaleel 'Wasti' Bilgrāmi:-[4] (b. 1071/1661[5] Circa d. 1138/1725) . He was a great scholar and an elegant Ṣufi poet. His original pen-name was 'Ṭarsi'. He

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.53.
2. (i) Sarw-e- Āzād, p.315.
   (ii) Safina-e- Bekhabar (MS.) p.23. C/o. Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, pp. 42-43.
   (iii) Same as 1, pp. 172-73.
   (iv) Khazāna-e- 'Amera, p.167.
3. (i) Same as 1 above p.172.
   (ii) Tuhfetul-Kirām, Vol.II, p.95.
4. (i) Sarw-e- Āzād, pp. 253-61.
   (ii) Khazāna-e- 'Amera, pp.352-53.
   (iii) Tazkira-e- 'Ulamā, p.48.
5. (i) Dāstān-e- Tārikhe-Urdu, p.29; (ii) Safina-e-Khushgo, p.155

studied text-books with the learned men of Bilgrām and the Traditions of the Prophet from Sayed Mubārak, the erudite traditionist of Bilgrām. He knew Qāmūsul-Lughāt by heart. He went to the Deccan to earn a livelihood and at last in 1112 A.H. succeeded in obtaining from Aurangzeb, who was then encamped at Bijapur, a Manṣab, a Jāgir and the joint office of Bakhshi (Paymaster) and Chronicler of Gujarat.

In 1116 A.H. he was appointed the Chronicler of Bhakar and Siwistān (in Sindh). In 1126 A.H. through some intrigues at the court he was recalled from Bhakar. He appointed a deputy to look after his official duties and himself remained at Delhi and finally resigned in 1133/1721 in favour of his son Sayed Muḥammad.[1]

He is buried at Bilgram close to his father's tomb.[2] He was a follower of Ghulām Naqshband of Lucknow. He was highly respected by people. He and his son Sayed Muḥammad Sa'id met Bedil several times.

One day in Waṣṭi's meeting Bedil's proficiency regarding the mysteries of Ṣufis was being discussed. He at once wrote a Tasmin using a line of Sa'di:-[3]

دی کسی گفت میرزا بیدل ۔ خوب گفت ست در تصوف راز
مصرعی در جواب خواند جلیل ۔ بیدل از بے نشان چه گوید باز

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1. Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.4.
2&3 Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, p.43.

5. Mir Sayed Ja'far 'Ruhi':-[1] (d. 1154 A.H.). He was a descendant of Ne'matullāh Shāh wali.[2] He hailed from Ranbirpur, a village near Lucknow. He married into a respectable family of Shaikhs at Bilgrām and mostly lived there. He received spiritual blessing from Shāh Laddhā Bilgrāmi. During the reign of Shāh 'Ālam, he came to Delhi and met Bedil. He was a true Ṣufi who is said to have had a vision of the Truth, and led a retired life. He was the author of a Diwān and his following couplet is as good as a Diwān itself in merit:

گشت چشمِ تو ولی فتنۂ قامت باقیست - نیست آرام بہ مردن کہ قیامت باقیست

He[3] mostly expressed mystic ideas in quatrains (Rubā'iyāt).

6. Mirzā Suhrāb Raunaq:-[4] He was very intimate with Bedil. Bedil writes that Raunaq's prose was beautiful, and his verse sober, and in addition to this, he possessed military ardour also. Bedil had recommended him to Shāh 'Ālam's Bakhshi (paymaster) Mirzā Na'im.

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1. (i) Safina-e- Khushgo, p.31.
   (ii) Sarw-e- Āzād, p.207.
   (iii) Sham'e Anjumen, p.175.
2. (i) Taskiratush-Sho'arā, p.60.
   (ii) Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, p.43.
3. Same as 2(i)
4. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.136 (Nawal Kishore Edition).

THE REIGN OF JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH (1124 A.H.)

Shāh 'Ālam' (Bahādur Shāh)[1] died at Lahore on the 19th Muḥarram, 1124 A.H. / 1712, and the usual contest for the throne began among his sons. The eldest, Jahāndār Shāh defeated his brothers and ascended the throne with the help of his two generals Nawab Zul-Fiqār Khān and Nawab 'Abdus Ṣamad. He was a thoroughly worthless ruler who was only interested in sensual pleasures and shameless revelry. His beloved Lāl Kunwar and her brothers and relatives who were fiddlers and drummers attained power in Delhi, and committed every sort of outrage.[2] The nobles of the court and officials followed his pernicious example and soon disorder spread in the empire.

This sorry state[3] of affairs disappointed Bedil very much and he predicted:

دورِ بے غیرت ندارد امتدادِ سال و ماہ ۔ تلتبان تا کے بہادر زنجلب تا چند شاہ؟

(In this shameless age, men have no sense of the month and the year (propriety). How long can a demoralised rogue remain a King ?)

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1. Siyarul-Mutākhkhirīn (Urdu), pp.15-18.
2. The Later Mughals, Vol.I, p.193.
3. Oriental College Mag. Aug.1952, p.45.

In this period there seems to be only one follower of Bedil, who, really speaking, was his old disciple.

1. Nawab Zulfiqār Khān:- (b. 1067/1657[1] Circa d. 1124/1713).

He was the son of Asad Khān, a noble of 'Ālamgir, and held several appointments under him. The title of Amirul-Umarā was conferred on him by Bahādur Shāh and the government of the Deccan was entrusted to him. Through Zulfiqār Khān's aid and intrigues Jahāndār Shāh defeated all his brothers, secured the throne and made Zulfiqār his Vizier. But when Farrukhsiyar came to power he was dragged out of his house and strangled for his misconduct. His head, along with that of Jahāndār Shāh, was carried on a pole, and the body, hanging feet upwards was placed on an elephant. His father and family were forced to accompany the procession and witness their own disgrace.

He once sent apples and pomegranates to Bedil as a gift. Bedil[2] thanked him in a fragment and on another occasion he offered 200 Ashrafis to Bedil who gave them away to Mir Karamullāh who being poor needed the help.[3]

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 430.
2. Kulliyāt-e- Safdari, Qit'āt, p.44.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.58.

THE REIGN OF FARRUKHSIYAR:-(1124 A.H. to 1131 A.H.):

Farrukhsiyar collected an army in 'Aẓimābād Patna against Jahāndār Shāh. Ḥasan 'Ali Khān and Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, the well-known Sādāt-e- Bārah supported Farrukhsiyar. A battle took place near Agra and after being defeated, Jahāndār Shāh made his way to Delhi with his beloved L'al Kunwari but he was, later on, put to death.

At this time Bedil's stars proved to be very favourable and auspicious. New patrons and pupils flocked to him in a body.[1]

NEW PUPILS

1. Sayed Ḥusain 'Ali Khān:- He was the younger brother of Ḥasan 'Ali Khān. He was very dignified and generous, and a lover of poetry, and had an insight into poetry. He was an old acquaintance of Bedil and sent his Ghazals for correction to him.[2] One one occasion Amirul Umarā presented three lakh rupees in cash and kind to Bedil. At first, purely as a matter of courtesy, Bedil took it, but afterwards returned it, very wisely in order to be true to his principles as an ascetic (Ṣufi). In spite of the Sayeds' close and sincere relations with Bedil, when the two Sayeds deposed the generous emperor Farrukhsiyar, and blinded him later, Bedil did not

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 114-15.
2. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.148.

hesitate to denounce them and composed a chronogram on the occasion:

دیدی کہ چہ با شاہِ گرامی کردند ۔ صد جور و جفا ز راہِ خامی کردند
تاریخ چو از خرد جستم فرمود ۔ سادات بوی نمک حرامی کردند
۱۱۳۱ = ۴۶۶ + ۱۸ + ۱۱۰ + ۲۵۹ + ۲۷۸

(Did you see what they did to the mighty King ? A hundred harsh and cruel deeds they did, unthinking. I asked Wisdom for the date. She answered: The Sayeds behaved disloyally to their King).

Bedil's chronogram was so prompt, befitting and appropriate to the occasion that it quickly spread to every nook and corner of the country. Hence Bedil, sensing trouble ahead, hurried to Nawab 'Abdus Samad, (the governor of Lahore) at Lahore.

Amirul-Umarā,[2] Sayed Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, the younger brother of Sayad 'Abdullāh Khān (Quṭbul-Mulk), while proceeding to the Deccan on 6th Zil-Ḥajj 1132 A.H. was killed at Toraḥ.[3] After the fall of Sādāte Bārah from power at the hands of Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh Ghāzi, Bedil[3] returned to Delhi in the beginning of 1133 A.H.

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1. Sarv-e- Āzād, p. 149.
2. ibid p.149.
   & Siyarul Mutākhkhirīn (Urdu), p.41-61.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.120.

2. Rāi Ānand Rām 'Mukhliṣ'[1] (b. 1111 A.H. Circa d.1164/1751).

He was a very learned Hindu gentleman and the attorney of various nobles including Nawab[2] Qamruddin Khān (Niẓāmul Mulk). He is the author of many works. He composed verses in Persian as well as in Urdu. In the prime of youth he consulted Bedil, on poetry, for a considerable period, and then became a pupil of Khān-e- Ārzū. His verses are elegant and polished. According to Dr. 'Abdul Ghani,Mukhliṣ had a copy of Bedil's Diwān containing the latter's portrait and a specimen of his hand writing.[3]

Mukhliṣ calls Bedil a perfect gnostic and states that Bedil preferred ṣufism to all other branches of learning.

3. Shaikh Muhammad Ahsan 'Sāmé' Dehlavi:- He was a descendant of Rāja Todar Mal Khatri. His grand-father had embraced Islam. He was a pupil of Bedil; but after his death he began to consult Shaikh Husain 'Shuhrat' and did not even acknowledge the debt he owed to Bedil.

However, he was a thorough gentleman gifted with a noble disposition. He served under Zahiruddaula 'Aẓimullāh

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1. (i) 'Iqd-e- Ṣurayyā, p.53.
   (ii) Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 334-36.
   (iii) Khazāna - 'Āmera, p.425.
   (iv) Ẓikr-e- Mir, pp. 8-9.
   (v) Nikātush- Sho'arā, p.8.
   (vi) Basme- Taimuria, pp. 310-13.
2. Taẓkiratush Sho'arā, p.122.
3. Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1952, p.49. 4. Ibid above, pp. 276-77.

Khān for a long period. He regularly attended Mushā'iras, and is the author of a Diwān and a Maṣnawi. His following couplet is so beautiful that it may be placed on par with a Diwān:

چسکنم خاطرِ صیاد عزیزست مرا ـ ورنه از کشمکشِ دام بتنگ آمده‌ام

4. Gul Muḥammad M'ani Yāb Khān, 'Shā'ir':- (d.1157 A.H.)

He was employed under Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh and had earned the title of M'ani Yāb Khān. He was very prominent among Bedil's pupils. Bedil loved him very much. Bedil had presented a staff and a sword to him which he preserved for a long time. Bedil liked his company so much that Bedil invited him very often. He patronised Bedil's relatives. He was the main force behind the annual assemblage of poets on the occasion of Bedil's 'Urs which flourished well as long as he was alive.

He was a prolific, elegant and original poet. He had a very hospitable and pleasing nature. He has left a Diwān and a Maṣnawi.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 243-44.

5. Shāh Fasih Afsah:[1] (d. 1192 A.H.)[2] He was a pupil of Bedil and composed verses in both Persian and Urdu. In his Diwān in Persian he, like his master deals with Sufistic topics. His forefathers belonged to Ṭāliqān near Turān. Afsah attained the age of one hundred years and led a life of seclusion in Lucknow. Due to old age and excessive addiction to opium-eating he had grown very weak and emaciated and could not even get up from his seat.[3]

6. Mirzā Mubārakullāh Irādat [4] (d. 1716 A.D.)

Khān 'Wāsih: - He was for some time, appointed faujdar of Jāgna and, at other periods, of Aurangabad and Māndo in Mālwa. He was equerry to Prince Bedar Bakht in the short war of 1707 between his father A'zam Shāh and uncle Bahādur Shāh of which he wrote an account. In the reign of Shāh 'Ālam or Bahādur Shāh I, he was governor of the Doāb, and an intimate friend of Mua'zzam Khān, Wazir. In the later part of his life he renounced the world and became a Qalander.*

1&2 (i) An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, 50.
(ii) Oriental College Mag., Aug. 1952, p.50.
3. (i) Tazkira-e- Sho'arā-e- Urdu, p.126.
(ii) Gulshan-e- Hind, p.30.
4. (i) Khushgo writes Mullā - - - (Safine-e- Khushgo, p.84)
(ii) Maāsirul- Umarā, Vol.I, p.[illegible]. c/c. Bazm-e- Taimuriya, pp.297-99.
(iii) Chār Sharbat-e- Qateel, p.67. c/c. Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952. p.50.
(iv) Sarv-e- Āzād, p.146.
(v) An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.180.

* Besides his Diwān Khushgo mentions his two prose works: (i) Kalemāt-o- Tayyibāt dealing with all Sufistic problems and (ii) In praise of the Royal Ghusl Khāna (Safina, p.85).

Irādat was an eminent poet as can be judged from the volume of poems he has left behind him. He is the author of Kalemāt-e- 'Ālīāt (Sublime Discourse), Minā Bāzār, and a history of 'Alamgir's victories.[1]

Rāi Ānand Mukhliṣ had seen him in the company of Bedil at the time of Farrukhsiyar. According to Chār Sharbat-e- Qateel he was Bedil's pupil, but Khushgo[2] calls him a pupil of Mir Muhammad Zamān Rāsikh.

7. Sirājuddin[3] 'Ali Khān, Ārzū: (b. 1099 A.H. Circa 1169/ 1755'56). He was a native of Agra and a descendant of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwalior and the son of Shaikh Nisārmuddin Ḥisām. According to Khushgo the chronogram of his birth composed by his own father is "نزلِ غیب" (Nuzul-e- Ghaib) which gives 1099 A.H. Hence other dates mentioned by biographers like Āzād, Saksena and Beale cannot be true. Till the age of fourteen 'Ārzū' studied no Persian books except those of Sa'di; then he busied himself in verse-making and acquiring from learned men of his time, knowledge of different branches of learning, the medium of learning being Arabic. He continued his education till he was twenty-four.[4] Thus he read copiously and extensively.

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.180.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.84.
3. (i) History of Urdu Literature, p.47.
   (ii) 2 above, pp.312-22.
   (iii) Majma'un- Nafā'is, p.156.
   (iv) Muraqqa-e- Delhi, pp.44-5.
4. Sarv-e- Āzād, p.227.

He was enrolled as a Mansabdār of 700 horse and went to Gwalior to take up the appointment but returned in 1130/1718 in the time of Farrukhsiyar.[1] In 1147/1784 Ārzū happened to meet the poet Ḥasin, who had just arrived from Persia. Jealousy between the two poets induced Ārzū to write a treatise entitled Tambihul- Ghāfalīn in which he pointed out errors in Ḥasin's poems. He[2] died at Lucknow in 1169/1756 and was buried there for some time, but afterwards his remains were removed by his nephew Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān[3] to Delhi in conformity with his wishes.

Ārzu was an eminent learned poet of his attainments. He possessed great capabilities and a genius for invention and eloquence which earned him great celebrity in India.

He had the opportunity of attending Bedil's "Assemblies" twice during the reign of Farrukh-siyar and he derived benefit. Nargāh Quli Khān[4] writes that Ārzu gave special audience to people on the day of the annual celebration of Bedil's 'Urs.

Ārzū had written an elegy on the death of Bedil, one line of which runs[5]:— ابن العربی بود بہ فرس

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.319.
2. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.385.
3. Saksena states that: "... his corpse was brought back by Nawab Salar Jang to Delhi where it now reposes in peace. (History of Urdu Literature, (English), 47)
4. Muraqqa-e- Delhi, p.44-5.
5. Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1952, p.51.

Unlike Mir,[1] Ikrām[2] calls Ārzu a pupil of Bedil. Mir and Āzād Bilgrāmi do not give details regarding Ārzū's native-place, and dates of birth and death. He was one of the acquaintances of 'Allāmah Mir 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrāmi.[3]

8. Mir Abul[4] Faiz 'Mast':- He claims to be the pupil of Sa'di as he says in the following couplet, it was by virtue of guidance received from Sa'di in a dream of the night :

رفتم بخواب جانب شیراز در سخن ـ شاگرد شیخ سعدیٔ شیرین زبان شدم

(In a dream I once went to Shiraz and became a pupil of the elegant, sweet-tongued poet Sa'di).

But, in fact for some time he consulted Bedil in poetical matters and after his death turned to Shaikh Ḥusain 'Shuhrat'. The language of his poetry is sober.

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1. Nikātush- Sho'arā, p.3.
2. Armugān-e- Pāk, p.10.
3. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p.119.
4. (i) Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 280-81.
   (ii) Ṣubḥ-e- Gulshan, p.402.

BEDIL'S PATRON AND FOLLOWERS:

1. Muhammad Farrukhsiyar: The Emperor at first sent a feeler to know whether Bedil would come to see him and on learning that he had declined he offered Bedil Rs.2000/- and an elephant.[1] Bedil received the said amount, but the greedy authorities concerned kept the elephant for themselves and finding that Bedil did not send his agent to fetch it, sold it, appropriating the proceeds of the sale for themselves.

Shād[2] 'Aẓimābādi says that Farrukhsiyar had copied Bedil's selected couplets in his private Bayāz in his own hand and used them very often in his farmāns and letters.

2. Hasan 'Ali 'Abdullāh Khān Qutbul Mulk:-[3] He was the well-known "king maker" Sayed belonging to the Sayeds of Bārah. He was the chief-minister of Farrukhsiyar and had a Mansab of 700 horse. Bedil went to meet him twice or thrice in response to his invitation.

At the very sight of Bedil he used to get up from his seat at once, ran forward to embrace Bedil and vacated his cushioned seat (Masnad) for him.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.114-15.
2. Nawā-e- Watan, p.72.
3. Muntakhbul-Lubāb, Vol.II, pp.27-8, and Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 113-14.

3. Mir Jumla Qāẓi 'Abdullah Turāni:- [1] (d. 1141/1731).

Mir Jumla was his title. He was a noble man and one of Farrukhsiyar's favourites. He was for some time promoted to the "ṣubedari" (governorship) of Bihar. Apparently he was the Dārogha of the Diwān-e- Khāṣ and Dak; but in reality he was Emperor's confidant and was empowered to set the royal seal and this was the root-cause of dispute between the Emperor and the Sādāte-Bārah.

Biographers[2] record a story about Mir Jumla and in which Bedil is said to have shaved off his beard and moustaches; the story has been given at the proper place in this thesis.

4. Mirzā Muḥsin Zulqadr:- He was Bedil's equipattern. From childhood he and Bedil held poetic compositions. At first he served under the prince Shujā'. Khushgo had seen him with Bedil at the time when Mirzā Muḥsin Zulqadr was over 90 years old. He died during Farrukhsiyar's reign.

Beale[3] records his life-account under Zulqadr but he says that his name was Mirzā Muḥammad Mihsin which is quite different from the one given by Khushgo. The only common points, both of them mention are that Zulqadr was a Turk of

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.251.
2. Oriental College Magazine, Aug.1952, p.49, and Safina-e- Khushgo, p.113.
3. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.431.

the tribe Zulqadr which, in Turkish means an archer who never misses his aim, and that this title he adopted as his pen-name.[1]

Beale[2] further writes: "He (Zulqadr) flourished about 1100/1688, and is the author of a Diwān." In view of the above facts it can easily be inferred that both Mirzā Muhsin and Mirzā Muhammad Mihsin are one and the same person.

5. Mir Muhammad Hāshim 'Jurrat':-[3] (d. 1175 A.H.). He had the title of Mūswi Khān. He served under Amirul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. Jurrat[4] came to Delhi from the Deccan with Amirul-Umarā Ḥusain in 1131 A.H. and had the pleasure of enjoying Bedil's and Mir 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrāmi's company. He was a close friend of Shāh Gulshān whom he first met in the Zīnatul Masājid, while returning from a royal hunt.

He was a soldier belonging to the class of Muhammad Shāh's Mansabdars. He was very convivial, jovial, good-natured, intelligent and astute; his poetry is melodious.

6. Nāsim Khān, 'Fārigh':[5]- He hailed from Qum from where he came to Sindh, settled down there for a long time and married a sailor's daughter by whom he had some male issues.

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.431 and Safina-e- Khushgo, p.90.
2. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.431.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.206.
4. Sarw-e- Āzād, p.237.
5. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.147.

Then he came to Delhi where he was honoured with a suitable Mansab and the title of Nāẓim Khān. He was appointed by the Emperor to versify the royal annals in the style of Shāhnāma. It is said that Sayed 'Abdullāh Khān Bārah was a participant in a battle; and, in the heat of the action, he boldly dismounted from his horse and engaged himself in the pitched fighting, showing great personal valour.[1] This particular custom of Sādāt-e- Bārah was called "Utārah" (اوتارہ) in the language of this country. Nāẓim Khān described this incident as follows:-

اوتارہ شد آن سیّد نامدار

He was very fond of the traditional style in poetry. His literary controversy with Bedil[2] has been given in the chapter on Bedil's Life in the present work.

VARIOUS POETS AND FRIENDS OF BEDIL:-

The following is the account of those poets about whom it is difficult to say as to when and in whose reign they came in contact with Bedil:-

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1&2. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 147 and 116-17.

1. Mir Muhammad 'Ali Rā'ij:-[1] (d. 1150 A.H.). He was a native of Sialkot. It is said that he was Bedil's pupil by correspondence. Some say that he was a pupil of Mir Muhammad Zamān Rāsikh.[2] However, he had attained proficiency in poetry. He led a solitary life of contentment in his native-place. He studied different branches of learning from his father.[3]

One of his friends Allāh Yār who knew Khushgo also stated that Rā'ij was very free and jolly and no respector of persons.[4] Once a very plain lady saucily invited him. "If you have virility come on". He replied, "Madam, a little while ago I was really a man, but now your passionate eyes have made me cold." He died at Lahore, but his remains were buried at Sialkot.[5] Khushgo claims to have attended his funeral.

He was an independent Qalander and proficient poet with sublime thoughts and words.[6] Khān-e- Ārzū[7] who had read his Diwān remarks: "I was extremely pleased to read it. He seems to be a man of real taste and originality, knows Persian well and composes fresh and subtle verses."

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1. a Sprenger, p.22.
   (ii) Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.216-17.
   (iii) Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p.244.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.216.
3. Majma'un- Nafā'is C/o. Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p.244.
4&7 Safina-e- Khushgo, p.216.
5 Khazāna-e- 'Āmera, p.245.
6. Kalemātush- Sho'arā, p.41.

2. Lālā Hakim Chand "Nudrat":-[1] He belongs to "Tees" community. He was an able and interesting youth, populer with the people, and was known for his seriousness and wit as well as the choice poetry he had composed. He was a close friend of Khushgo with whom he learnt the book 'Akhlāq-e- Nāsiri' from Maulvi Muhammad 'Ābid., and practised composition of poetry under the guidance of Sarkhush. He was a favourite of Samsāmud- Daula and held a post which carried an honorarium of Rs.50.

He was a very accomplished metricist and had a deep insight into life and literature. He had a relish for Sufism also and attended, the meetings of the renowned poets of the time like Bedil, Shāh Gulshan and Arzū and benefited by the associations he formed there.

He is the author of the following works from which one can estimate how versatile and accomplished he was:-

1) Translation of the 10th Canto of "Bhāgavat Purāna". It is in the metre of Shirin Khusrau and contains 1400 elegant and pleasant verses.

2) Zarrah-o- Khurshid - a Masnavi of 2000 verses on a philosophical theme.

3) Sāqinama - of 700 laudatory verses on Samsāmud- Daula. It is a very fine, elegant and fluent composition.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 352-54.

4) Panegyrics in praise of Nawab Ṣadruṣ- Ṣudūr Mir Jumla Tar Khan and other nobles of his age.

5) Ghezals comprising 15000 couplets.

6) Shash Jehat - a prose work in a very chaste and elegant style consisting of 5000 lines of about eight words each.

3. Mir 'Abdul 'Aziz, 'Nusrat':-[1] (d. 1139/1726). He hailed from Kashmir, but had settled down at Lahore. His father seems to have served under Prince Dārā Shikoh. Nusrat gave his name as Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz when he sought service at the court of 'Ālamgir. In the 17th year of Ālamgir's reign Nusrat received the title of Dilāwar Khān and was granted a Manṣab of 7000 horse. Mir Muḥammad Mun'im was married to the daughter of 'Ināyatullāh Khān of Kashmir, a noble of 'Ālamgir.

In the early reign of Farrukhsiyar he accompanied Niẓām-ul- Mulk to the Deccan. There at the recommendation of Amir-ul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, he accepted the office of the Faujdar of Kāichūr. After the downfall of the Sādāt-e- Bārah he stayed with Niẓām-ul-Mulk in the Deccan. Later on he fought with his sister-in-law's husband against Niẓām-ul-Mulk, as a result of which Mubāriz Khān was killed

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1. (i) Maāsirul- Umarā, Vol.II, p.69.
   (ii) Safina-e- Khushgo, p.268.
   (iii) An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.298.

* Beale wrongly gives Nasrat.

and Nusrat was made a captive, but was soon freed by virtue of his long-standing relations with Āsif Jāh and was made a Mansabdar of 5000 horse.

In conformity with his wishes he was buried at the foot of his spiritual master, Shāh Ibrāhim's grave, within the precincts of Shāh Burhānuddin.

According to Khushgo[1] Nusrat was known to be the author of the following couplet of Bedil, found in the latter's Diwān:

چشم پوشیده توان کرد سفر ـ چه قدر راه فنا هموار است!

(One can perform the journey safely with one's eyes completely closed. Moreover in the path of death happens to be !)

The MS. of Safina-e- Khushgo belonging to the Patnkipur Library had been in the possession of 'Uzlat who has made a marginal note about the couplet in question saying that Nusrat often repeated this couplet before him, claimed to be its author, and called himself a pupil of Bedil. Moreover Āzād[2] Bilgrāmi attributes it to Nusrat, which practically tilts the scales in favour of Nusrat. The different editions of Bedil's Diwān do contain a Ghazal in the same rhyme and metre.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.268.
2. Sarw-e- Āzād, p.197.

4. Munshi Amānat Rāi, 'Amānat':-[1] (d. 1145 A.H.). He was A Khatri of Lalpur perhaps Layalpur and Bedil's pupil. He lived for long with Nawab Amjad Khān, the foster-brother of Muḥammad Shāh, as his Munshi.

He was a prolific poet. Bhagat Mālā, Sri Bhāgwat or Jalwa-e- Zāt, the version of Rāmāyana in verse form, the Masnawi of Nāyikā Bheda etc. are his works, most of which deal with religion and Ṣufism. He was a mediocre poet.

5. Mir Muḥammad Ashraf, 'Hasrat':-[2] His ancestors were the descendants of the Mūsawi Sayeds and had settled down at Sandela near Lucknow after migration into India. A pupil of Bedil, he was one of celebrities of that place. He was a master of language and sublime thought. He was a poet with a sound mind and fine thought.

6. Sayed Abul Faiz, 'Mani':-[3] He lived at Gulābbādi (گلاب باڑی) Shāhjahānābād. He was a pupil of Bedil, and Sher 'Ali Qāne' mentions him as a pupil of both Bedil and Shuhrat. He remained a bachelor throughout his life.

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1. (i) Taskira-e- Ḥusaini, p.48-9.
   (ii) Subh-e- Gulshan, p.37.
   (iii) Adbiyāte - Fārsi mein Hinduon kā Hissa, p.173.
2. (i) Safina-e- Khushgo, p.261.
   (ii) Tuḥfatul- Kirām, Vol.II, p.107.
   (iii) Subh-e- Gulshan, p.100.
   (iv) Nishtar-e- 'Ishq, (MS.) p.361.
3. (i) Tuhfatul- Kirām, Vol.II, p.105.
   (ii) Subh-e- Gulshan, p.431.
   (iii) Roz-e- Roushan, p.637.

* Khushgo writes Sayed Muḥammad Ashraf, 'Hasrat'.

7. SRI GOPAL TAMBOLI:-[1] (d. 1147 A.H.). He was a Brahmin, generally known as Aftābsādāh (a son of the Sun). One of the classes of Indian Brahmins is called Suraj as Khushgo mentions and considers himself to have descended from the Sun. Tamees belonged to this class. He was a proficient, and elegant poet and is considered to be a learned pupil of Bedil. He had studied Hindi books thoroughly and thus had acquired mastery over the language. He was a fine Hindi poet and also displayed great facility for expressing pertinent thoughts in Persian.

He was so trusted a servant that he was allowed access to the royal harem when court business demanded it. He wrote a Masnawi describing the peculiarities of the suburbs of Mathura and Brij Mandal during his stay with Rāo Sevak Rām Nāgar, the ruler of the pargana of Mathura.

8. Sayed Murtazā Qāne':-[2] He hailed from Sistān. He mastered the text-books in vogue and had acquired proficiency in Persian. He had a special genius for expressing noble theory in poetry. It is said that he was a pupil of Bedil. He composed good verses. Sarkhush quotes only one couplet of Qāne' with the remark that sufficient details of his life were not known to him. [3]

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1. (i) Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 311-12.
   (ii) Ros-e- Roushan, p. 135.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.99.
3. Kalemātush- Sho'arā, p.94.

9. Mir Muḥammad Mā'sūm Wijdān:-[1] (d. 1160 A.H.). He was a worthy son of Mir Muḥammad Zamān Rāsikh, and an associate of Nawab Saifu- Daula 'Abdu Ṣamad Khān, the Governor of Lahore. The Nawab supported him and showed special favours to him.

A poetic symposium was held daily in the afternoon at which Wijdān presided. After the demise of Saifud - Daula, Zakria Khān continued his allowance, but since Zakia was least interested in poetry, this literary circle soon stopped its meetings.

He was generally known by the title of 'Āli Nasab Khān. He was a skilled poet, and was second to none in the Punjab where he spent most of his life. He was, for a short time, with Bedil as his pupil. His thoughts are very fine and mature.

10. Muḥammad Panāh, 'Qābil'[2]:-* He belonged to the nobles of Kashmir. He was very capable, learned and fluent in speech. He practised writing poetry under Bedil's guidance. He lived for some time with A'izz Khān, 'Deedah'. He went to Lahore with Himmat Dilor Khān, the Deputy Governor of Thatta (

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1. Khazāna-e- 'Amera, p.444.
2. (i) Safina-e- Khushgo, p.276.
   (ii) Tazkira-e- Be- Nazir, p.104.

* also "Kāmil", but only Dr. 'Abdul Ghani gives this as his pen-name.
(Oriental College Mag. Aug.1952, p.53).

and later became a mendicant. He visited Delhi and went back to Lahore to see his spiritual master. He was an elegant and original poet, and has many Ghazals and Maṣnawis to his credit.

He was over sixty when he died[1] and was buried at Lahore.[2]

11. 'Abdul 'Aziz, 'Ijād':-[3] Perhaps he was alive in 1136 A.H. He was a pupil of Bedil. Specimens of his verse could not be found in any Taẓkira.

12. Mirzā Nādiruzzamān, 'Fasih':-[4] He was also a pupil of Bedil. No other details regarding him are available.

13. 'Ismatullāh Qābil:-[5] He was a pupil of Bedil. Khushgo[6] records the account of one Shaikh 'Aṣmatullāh but with 'Kāmil' as his pen-name and further states that he was a descendent of the Shaikh of Murādābād and had received his pen-name from Bedil with whose help he had polished his verses.

One day he brought, as a gift, a small pretty dagger (jamdhar) manufactured at Burhanpur to Bedil who promptly retorted:

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1. Khazāna-e- 'Amera, p.444.
2. 'Iqd-e- Surayyā, p.59.
3. Sprenger C/o. Hameesha Bahār, p.113.
4. " C/o. Maqālātush- Sho'arā, p.158.
5. ibid.
6. Safina-e- Khushgo, pp. 87-8.

"این جمدهر برنشانِ برهانپور برهانِ قاطع راست"*

(This jamdhar is a convincing proof of the existence of Burhanpur.)

Qābil was not very happy as he associated with mansabdars whose income was meagre. Nevertheless he had a noble mind. He often went to see Bedil at the time of Bahādur Shāh, Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukhsiyar.

He was a man of soldierly disposition. During the reign of Farrukhsiyar, it was learnt that a quarrel ensued between him and his brother over a trifling matter. It developed into such a scuffle that each of them succumbed to the injuries they received.

14. Mir Razi 'Wahdat':- [1] He was a follower of Bedil whose letter addressed to him reveals that once Razi had sent a hookah (hubble-bubble) to Bedil.

15. Shaikh Kabir:- [2] He was a companion of Bedil for a long time and regularly called on him every day for thirty years.

One day when Bedil, with his proverbially strong staff in his hand, was about to leave his home Shaikh Kabir began to speak about the staff. Bedil immediately uttered the following rhyming phrases in praise of the staff:-

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1. Ruq'āt-e- Bedil, p.116.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.120.

* Please also refer to Note on pp. 292 & 246.

1- Sunnatul- Aulia (Traditional Law of the Saints).

2. Zeenatus- Sulaha (Beauty of the virtuous).

3. Munisul A'ma (Intimate friend of the blind).

4. Mumiddusu'afa (Assistant of the old.)

5. Dafi'ul A'da (protector against the enemies).

and further said that to repulse enemies a strong staff is necessary.

16. Shaikh Sadruddin Muhammad:- [1] He was a native of Peshawar and was a real lover of knowledge. It is said that in the beginning he used to falter and stutter, while reading and reciting verses. He came to Bedil who chanted a prayer and wafted it towards the Shaikh in a puff of breath and this cured him of his defect and he began to talk clearly. He was a good composer of quatrains.

The way in which Khushgo has mentioned him shows that he must have been a spiritual follower as well as a pupil of Bedil.

17. _____ 'ISHQI':- [2] He claims to be a pupil of Bedil. No other details were available to this writer. He flourished in the reign of Muhammad Shah, and is the author of a Diwan. (d. 1142/1729) [3].

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.
2. Nawa-e- Adab, Oct. 1958, p.9.
3. Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.182.

18. Muhammad Fāzil, Āzād:-[1] He was a native of Gujarat and belonged to the 'Alwi Sayeds of Ahmedabad. He had met Nāgir 'Ali and Bedil. He died at Bharoach (Modern Broach) in 1148 A.H.

19. Shaikh Muhammad Amin, 'Amin':-[2]

He was of Indian origin (i.e. not a Moghal) and a pupil of Bedil. His native-place and birth-date are not known. In 1121 A.H. he went to Arakat from North India and through Rāi Dakni Rām Divān he got access to Nawab Sa'ādatullāh who appointed him in the Dārul- Inshā (Secretariat) on a high salary and made him his own companion also. Amin was very intimate with Rāi Dakni Rām and his son Rāi Budh Chand. Amin in fact, wrote prose better than poetry. The author of 'Mahbubuzzaman writes that he was well-versed in prose and poetry and was a unique letter-writer and elegant poet and prudent speaker. He is the author of two collections of letters, namely, Gulshan-e- Sa'ādat and Majma'ul- Inshā. The first work[3] was compiled in 1131 A.H. It contains letters on behalf of Nawab Sa'ādatullāh Khān and a letter to Bedil asking him to send copies of Tilism-e- Hairat, and other compositions.

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1. Bāgh-e- Ma'ni (MS.), No.3. Khudā Bakhsh Library, C/o. Nawā-e- Adab, Bombay, 1957, p.3.
2. Sukhanvarān-e- Baland Fikr, p.97.
   (ii) Mahbūbuzzaman, pp. 302-3.
3. Oriental College Mag. Aug. 1952, p.33.

Here is a relevant extract from the letter:

"گرامی نامۂ کرامت نشان .... میرزا بیدل سلمہ اللہ تعالیٰ جواہر مراد
در سلکِ آرزو کشید ..... اگر عرض ارادت بمدارج اجابت ارتقا
نماید امید است کہ از طلسمِ حیرت بر آید و محیطِ اعظم گشتہ گوہرِ مقصود بچنگ آرد...
... نقلِ بیاضِ خاص کہ ہر ورقش از خط شکستہ محبوبی است مرغولہ موتیز عنایت شود
" .....

Three MSS. of Gulshan-e- Sa'ādat are preserved in the Āsfiya Library Hyderabad, Deccan;[1] one MS. in the Punjab University Library, Lahore,[2] one in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and one MS. with some pages missing at the beginning and the end is with this writer. One printed copy of Gulshan-e- Sa'ādat exists in the Āsfia Library also. This library contains a MS. copy of Majma'ul- Inshā too.

20. Mirzā Jāne Jānān, 'Mashar:- (b. 1112 Circa d. 1195).

Of all the Taskiras referred to herein only Taskira-e- Husaini mentions Mashar as a pupil of Bedil:

"شاعرِ معنی پرور نیکو دستگاہ میرزا جانجانان مظہر سلمہ اللہ انسانِ کاملیست
و از مستفیدانِ میرزا بیدل ..... "

1. Cat. of MSS. in the Āsfiya Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, pp.130-32.
2. (i) Oriental College Mag. Aug.1952, p.33.
   (ii) Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Punjab University Library [Lib. No.1806.
3. Taskira-e- Husaini, p.327.

The said Tazkira was compiled in 1163 A.H. in Mazhar's life-time only. Hence there is no harm in accepting the above statement as reliable and authentic.

Mazhar's father Mirzā Jān was a Mansabdar of 'Ālamgir's court. He too was a poet with Jāni as his pen-name and was descended from 'Ali. Mazhar[1] was born at Agra according to Beale and Gracin[2] de Tassy about the year 1110/1698 or 1111 A.H. at Kālābāgh in Malwā. At the suggestion of 'Ālamgir he was named Jān Jānān, although his father called him Shamsuddin. He is generally known by the former name only. He himself states in his autobiography that he was born in 1112 A.H. His native-place was originally Akbarābād, but later on he shifted to Delhi.[3] His father died when he was only sixteen.[4] In his youth he frequented the society of saints and dervishes and thus came under Sufi influence. He[5] studied the Traditions of the Prophet with Shaikh Muhammad Afzal of Sialkot, and acquired knowledge of Sufism for three years from the Naqshbandi Shaikhs and received spiritual[6] blessings from Sayed Muhammad Badauni Naqshbandi Mujaddidi.

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1. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.198.
2. (i) A History of Urdu Literature, p.49 (English).
   (ii) Āb-e- Hayāt, p.137.
3. Nikātush- Sho'arā, p.5 & Gulshan-e- Hind, p.216.
4. She'rul- 'Ajam fil Hind, p.233 & Āb-e- Hayāt, p.138.
5. Tarikh-e- Adab-e- Urdu, p.106.
6. Sarv-e- Āzād, p.232.

Khushgo[1] says that Mashar belonged to a family called Qashqāl which in Turkish, means a lean horse, and which seems appropriate as Mirzā Mashar appeared lean in spite of his being sufficiently plump.

Mashar[2] himself admits that from the very childhood, he was a great lover of beauty, worldly and spiritual and composed extempore lines. He was so fond of beauty that he hated an ugly person and was very much pleased when fondled and coaxed by a good- looking one and was reluctant to part with her.

Until he was thirty years of age he lived in enclosures containing the tombs of saints.[3] It was during this time that he came under Ṣufi influence. Āzād described this fact saying : "For thirty years he swept madrasas and khānqās."

He was second Junaid and Bāyazid so far as understanding of spiritual realities (فہم حقایق) and Ṣufi doctrines (بیانِ تصوف) are concerned.[4] Thousands of Hindus and Muslims were his disciples. He[5] was deeply attached to the young and handsome poet 'Abdul Ḥai 'Tābān' and was very friendly with him.

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.301.
2. Āb-e- Ḥayāt, p.138.
3. ibid.
4. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.301.
5. A History of Urdu Literature, p.50 (Saksena) and Safina Khushgo, pp.301-2.

For some time[1] he was estranged from Tābān. Maẓhar did not come out of the mosque for six months, dug a grave for himself and sat inside it weeping and sobbing. Meanwhile he made it public among his friends that he was dead and was laid to rest in a grave. He was very kind to Khushgo, often passed the night at his residence and did not feel it awkward to request to be served with a meal specially bread.

In the autobiography he gave to Khushgo he calls himself a native of Bukhara[2] and in that given to Āzād Bilgrāmi he claims that India was his birth-place. He was a man of uncertain and hasty temper, had his fads and was very independent and hence, led a life of a bachelor nomad.[3]

Mir speaks very reverently of Maẓhar and describes him as a pious dervish, a graceful learned man, incomparable honoured and esteemed.[4] He spent most of his time in meditation and was very charming in speech. He regarded verse-making below his dignity, nevertheless he sometimes followed this futile art also and composed verses on the spur of the anguish of heart and true poetic nature.

He strictly followed the injunction of the Qurān and was very sober. He was punctilious on points

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1. A History of Urdu Literature, p.50 (Saksena) and Safina-e- Khushgo, pp.301-2.
2. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.302 & Sarw-e- Āzād, p.232.
3. Safina-e- Khushgo, p.302 & A History of Urdu literature, p.46. (Bailey).
4. Nikātush- Sho'arā, p.5.

of etiquette and never permitted any breach. After becoming an ascetic he refused all rewards declining even large sums of money offered by Muḥammad Shāh Nawāb Feroz Jang and Āṣif Jāh.[1] He had earned a reputation which he well deserved not only for his intellectual attainments but for the uprightness of his character, cheerfulness and joviality. He knew how to combine lively piety with human beauty. Some miracles also are attributed to him. According to Qudratullāh 'Shauq'[2] he is the first man who abandoned the punning or enigma-writing and Mir Ḥasan[3] remarks about him:- "He is one of the eloquent and rhetorical writers of the time."

His death was tragic: As he was a Sunni, he once unguardedly uttered disparaging remarks about, and expressed his disapproval of, something in the Muḥarram procession, with the result that he was shot by some unknown person, though one biographer* specifically mentions the culprit's

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1. Gul-e- Ra'nā C/o. A History of Urdu Literature, p.50.
2. Tārikh-e- Adab-e- Urdu, p.107.
3. Tazkira-e- Sho'arā-e- Urdu, p.147 (Footnote).

* Md. Ḥusain Āzād says that the assailant was one Faulād Khān (Āb-e- Ḥayāt, p.144).

(II) "در دورۂ نواب نجف خان شبِ قتلِ روزِ عاشورہ بسببِ اختلافِ مذہب از دستِ شخصی شیعہ بہ ضربِ طمانچہ (a slap) رتبۂ شہادت یافت۔"

(تذکرۂ طبقاتِ سخن (قلمی): ہماری زبان، ہفتہ وار علی گڈھ، ۲۲ مارچ ۱۹۶۰ء، ص ۱۱)

name, on the 10th night of Muharrem 1195.[1] He was badly wounded but lingered a day or two and though questioned on the point, stoutly refused to disclose the name of his assailant. He is reverenced as a martyr. At this time Maghar was eighty* years old. Md. Husain Āzād on the authority of Ḥakim Qudratullāh Qāsim says that he was murdered by a Sunni simply because he had composed verses in praise of 'Ali. However Āzād is not sure and remarks: "I am in a fix, because a true Sunni like Ḥakim Ṣāḥeb states that Maghar was shot by a Sunni. People say that the culprit was a Shi'a. It is now upto the Sunnis and Shias to decide the issue. I have written what I could find out."[2]

Mirzā Luṭf 'Ali,[3] Āzād[4] and Sakaena[5] give 1194 A.H. as the date of Maghar's murder, which seems to be wrong. On the basis of the following authorities Maghar was definitely murdered in 1195 A.H.:

(i) Ikrāmul-Haq[6] and Beale[7] give the correct date.

(ii) Mushafi says:

"شخصی .... شب ہفتم محرم الحرام یک ہزار و یک صد و نود و پنج او را بگولۂ تجرد روح سمات ... چون زخم بہ پہلوئے دل رسیدہ بود بروز عاشورہ طائر روحش از قفس عنصری پرواز کرد۔" (عقد ثریا ص ۵۵-۵۶)

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1. Tārikh-e- Adab - Urdu, p.108. 2. Āb-e- Ḥayāt, p.144.
3. Gulshan-e- Hind, p.217 4. Āb-e- Ḥayāt, p.144.
5. Tārikh-e-Adab-e-Urdu, p.108 6. She'rul-'Ajam fil Hind, p [233.
7. An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.198.

* Āzād's statement does not seem to be correct since Mir Hasa who was Maghar's contemporary remarks: "He is nearing ninet and at present he is staying at Sambhal Murādābād." (Taskira-e- Sho'arā-e-Urdu, p.147).

(III) Mir[1] Qamruddin Minnat's chronogram عاشق حمیدؒ لات شہید
yields 1195 A.H. which is further supported by
the following fragment of Saudā.[2]

مرزا کا ہوا جو قاتل اک مرتد شوم ۔ اور انکی خبر ہوئی شہادت کی عموم
تاریخ از روئے درد یہ سنکے کہی ۔ سودا نے کہ ہائے جانِ جانانِ مظلوم

۱۰۱۴+۱۰۵+۵۴+۱۲ = ۱۱۹۱ + ۴ = ۱۱۹۵

He is the author of a short Diwān in Persian containing one thousand couplets, which are gleanings from a larger body of work running into 20,000 couplets, and the work was compiled in 1170 A.H. One incomplete Diwān in Urdu, Persian letters and an anthology of his select pieces from Persian poets called Kharita-e- Jawāhir are also catalogued among his works.[3]

He introduced new and original thought and elegant Persian constructions. His versification is easy and fluent and he wrote both prose and poetry eloquently. His erotic verses have a spiritual undertone and are full of passion and poignancy. The language is both refined and elegant.

1&2 Nigār-e- Pākistan, Sept. 1964, p.53.
Gul-e- Ra'nā, p.132.
3. Āb-e- Hayāt, p. 143 and a History of Urdu Literature p.50 (Saksena, English Edition).

Muḥammad Fāẓil, 'Āzād':-[1] He belonged to the Sayeds of Ahmedabad, Gujarat, and was himself a virtuous man who fully deserved the title. He had met Shāh Nāṣir 'Ali of Sirhind and Mirzā Bedil. He died at Broach, which was, then one of the talukas of Ahmedabad, Gujarat.

Babari, 'Rindi':-[2] People called him Bhori or Bahuri. He hailed from the Kanchanāyān of Shāhjahānābād (Old Delhi). At first he used to compose vulgar poetry, which, however, he gave up at a later stage. He was very good-natured, and had no match in singing and dancing. He was very friendly with Mirzā Bedil, and composed poetry which is not of a very high order.

The foregoing list of people who came in contact with Bedil for one reason or the other, may, in no way, be thought complete. In the Ruq'āt-Bedil we come across the names of the following persons also:- (1) Mirzā Muḥammad Ibrahim, (2) Mirzā Mu'in, (3) Shaikh Muḥammad Māh, (4) Mirzā Dāwar Yār (5) Mirzā Faẓā'il, (6) Mirzā Na'im, (7) Miyān Lāl Muḥammad, (8) Mirzā Sulaimān, (9) Mirzā Zainul Ābedin, (10) Fatḥ Khān, (11) Mirzā 'Aṭāullāh, (12) Shukrullāh Khān son of Shukrullāh Khān I., (13) Mullā Bāqir Gilāni, (14) Mirzā Abul-Khair, (15) Mirzā Muḥsin, (16) Munshi Qā'il Khān, (17) Mirzā Khusrau Baig and (18) Mirzā Abul-Wiqār etc.

1&2. Safina-e- Hindi, pp. 16 & 90.

* See p. 296 also.

Bedil's relations with these gentlemen must have been established on account of their taste for poetry.

Qit'āt-e- Bedil also mentions the names of people whose life-account is not found in any other Tazkira.

It is just possible that the names of the people who were related to Bedil in one way or the other may be scattered all over the pages of the various Tazkiras, either printed or in the MS. form, to some of which the writer of this thesis could not have access for reasons beyond his control as explained in the preface. At the same time there may be a host of other persons of whom biographers have taken no notice.

CHAPTER VI

A GENERAL SURVEY OF MAṢNAWI-WRITING PRIOR TO BEDIL:

Of all the forms of Persian poetry the Maṣnawi is the most useful, extensive and all-embracing. Its primary object is the depiction of the manifestations of Nature considered as a force; but human emotions and feelings, events, natural scenes, philosophy, particularly, Ṣufistic philosophy, ---- all find a place in the Maṣnawi and may be presented in a panoramic view simultaneously in one and the same Maṣnawi.[1] A Maṣnawi generally deals with some historical event or a legend and hence all aspects of human life and social organisation can legitimately find a place in it. It can very well depict all varieties of human emotions and sentiments like love, pain and pleasure, anger, malice and hatred. Thus the Maṣnawi is a suitable vehicle for the expression of subjective feelings and objective detail.

The Maṣnawi compares favourably with the Epic form of literature as handled by Homer, Virgil, Vālmiki and Vyāsa, because both offer plenty of scope for the narration of a story, and for philosophical observations on life in general.

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1. She'rul-'Ajam, Part IV, p. 247.

The word مثنوی comes from مثنیٰ which is derived from اثنین two and two. The 'alif' of مثنیٰ was changed to و, while being joined to یای نسبت and thus مثنیٰ ultimately assumed the form of مثنوی[1]. Its every distich (couplet) must have two rhymes. Browne[2] calls it a "couplet - poem" : "The rhyme as has been said, is contained in the bayt, and changes from bayt to bayt."[3] In short a Magnawi is a collection of 'baits' having similar (one) metre throughout. Browne adds, "The rhyme is between the two hemistiches composing the bayt, and changes from couplet to couplet."[4]

In a Qasida or a Ghasal, it is necessary to follow one and the same rhyme throughout the poem; but it is not so in a Magnawi, nor is the number of verses limited in a Magnawi. This gives a greater freedom to the writer of the Magnawi, while the writer of the Qasida or the Ghasal is cramped by the restrictions on the "form".

A radif, however, adds to the beauty of a Ghasal, while it is not so in a Magnawi.[5]

All long narrative and systematised didactic poems in Persian are composed in the Magnawi form, which is a Persian invention, and unknown in classical Arabic poetry.[6]

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1. Badāe'ul Afkār, p.12. C/o. Mādar-e- Hind, p.29.
2. Literary History of Persia, Vol.II, pp. 18 & 25.
3. ibid, pp. 18 & 26.
4. ibid, p. 18.
5. Risāla-e-Qāfiya by Maulāna Qāsim Kāhi C/o. Mādar-e-Hind, p.29.
6. Literary History of Persia, Vol.II, p.26.

Maulānā Shibli remarks: "It was a prerequisite of a Maṣnawi that the ruling king's name be mentioned and his praises sung, but the Ṣufi poets removed this blot. The Maṣnawi of Maulānā Rūm and Manṭiqut- Ṭair contain no reference to the king and this omission happened under the influence of Ṣufism."[1]

The Maṣnawi is specially a narrative poem like the English Ballad and as the freedom in style and rhyme is permissible it includes the following themes:—

1) Epic incidents, as Shāhnāma; Sikandarnāma

2) Romantic events as Khusrau-o-Shirin; Yūsuf Zulaikhā.

3) Didactic, mystic and philosophic maxims, and truths illustrated by anecdotes and stories, as Boostān, Maṣnawi of Rūmi, Jām-e-Jam of Auḥadi.

4) Historic facts as Akbarnāma of Faiẓi, Gashtāsp nāma, Haft Paikar, Hasht Bihisht.[2]

It is written in seven metres:- two of Hazaj, two of Ramal, one of Khafif, Sarī' and Mutaqārib.[3] Out of these, five employed by Niẓāmi of Ganja in his Khamsa (quintet) are generally used. The most important measures are the following:-

ہزج مسدس ۔ رمل مسدس ۔ سریع مسدس ۔ متقارب مثمن ۔

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1. She'rul -'Ajam, Part V, p. 132.
2. Essentials of Persian Poetry, p.11.
3. Amirul'Aruz, p.60.

Whether[1] Persian people employed these in Persian poetry before the advent of Islam is not known because we find neither a trace of them, nor even a mention of any Persian poet in any Tazkira.

It is, however, generally believed that it was Bahrām Gūr who first composed a couplet in Persian; Yaʿqūb bin Lais Ṣaffār enjoys the credit of the following hemistich:-

غلطان غلطان همی رود تا لب گور[2]

During the reign of the Abbasid Caliphs a book which was, in fact, the versified romance of Wāmiq and 'Aẕrā was presented to Amir 'Abdullāh Ṭāhir, the Amir of Khurāsān. It was dedicated to Nausherwān, the Just. The poet being an infidel, the book was ordered to be thrown into the river and destroyed.

It is difficult to decide whether it is essentially a Persian contribution or an Arabic one. The Arabic form of poetry called 'Rajaz' may well be termed as a Maṯnawi because, like the Maṯnawi, its every couplet is a unit by itself and deals with the narration of continuous events.

Rajaz had reached its climax during the reign of Banu Ummiya.[2] During the Abbasid period 'Abdullāh bin

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1. Tazkiratush- Sho'arā, pp.11-12.
2. Ṣanādid-e-'Ajam, pp. 58-9.

Almu'taz had written 'Shikār-Nāma' in Rajaz, which can be considered to be a short Maṣnawi.

In short, it is difficult to say definitely whether a Maṣnawi is a purely Persian invention or, whether the Persians had before them some specimen or model of rajaz and they imitated it diligently and improved upon it. Similarly it is equally difficult to decide who the inventor, or the first writer of the Persian Maṣnawi was. Rūdaki, the father of Persian poetry is supposed to have laid down the foundation of Maṣnawi - writing and produced the metrical version of Kalila-wa-Dimna in this type.

In Arabia no long, narrative Maṣnawi with all its characteristic poetic features was ever produced.[1] On the contrary, Persia produced hundreds of Maṣnawis of a high order. If we accept Abul Ḥasan Rūdaki as the father of Persian poetry, then naturally the Maṣnawi should be regarded as his invention, since we cannot trace any Maṣnawi written in the age prior to his own. At the instance of Naṣr bin Aḥmed Sāmāni, Rūdaki brought out in a Maṣnawi form the version of the well-known tale of Kalila and Dimna, of which sixteen couplets are preserved in Asadi's* Lughāt-e-Furs; it was compiled about 1060 A.D. Rūdaki[2] was awarded

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1. Literary History of Persia, Vol.II, p.16.
2. Sanādid-e-'Ajam, pp. 53-9.

* Asadi of Tus was Firdausi's friend and fellow townsman who invented the Munazara or "Strife-poem". (Lit. His. of Per., Vol.II, p.116).

a prize of forty thousand Dirams (a silver coin) for it:

چهل هزار درم رودکی ز مهتر خویش ـ عطا گرفت ز نظم کلیله در کشور (عنصری)

Most probably, Rūdaki employed practically all the well-known metres in writing his Maṣnawis. His couplets written in the metres of Shahnama and Haft Paikar are still extant.[1]

It is in the Maṣnawis of Niẓāmi of Ganja that the characteristic features of the Maṣnawi are carefully brought out.[2] The author of Dabire-'Ajam calls him (the chief of the caravan[3]). The following are the requisites for a Maṣnawi, laid down by Niẓāmi:-[4]

1) Praise of the Providence.
2) Prayers.
3) Praise of the Prophet.
4) Praise of the ruling King.
5) Praise of Poetry and poets.
6) The cause of writing the book.
7) The subject-matter.

Many poets composed Maṣnawis after Rūdaki and a considerable number of them was produced before Firdausi.

Asadi's Lughāt-e-Furs contains many couplets selected from the Maṣnawis of Labibi, Abu Shakoor, Ṭayyān

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1. She'rul-'Ajam, part IV, p. 249.
2. Makhzanul-Tawārīd, p. 145.
3. Dabir-e-'Ajam, p. 57.
4. Essentials of Persian Poetry, p.12.

and 'Unguri. 'Unguri produced many Masnawis out of which Wāmiq-o-'Agrā is his best known work but copies of it are now very rare.[1] As the language of these Masnawis has now become archaic they are but rarely read now. Moreover the Shāhnāma eclipsed all preceding Masnawis.[2] The excellence of this master piece of Firdausi made it clear to other poets that any efforts to produce an epic poem which might compare well with Firdausi's, would prove futile. Of Course Nigāmi strove boldly and composed the Sikandarnāma which compares favourably with Firdausi's.

Although Firdausi's Shāhnāma proved to be unrivalled in epic poetry, the scope of the Masnawi continued to widen further and further, and countless Masnawis were written even after Firdausi had done his work.

The Masnawi form was employed for the narration of legends and lengthy stories of an epical character;[3] it was also used for lyrical outbursts and didactic writing as early as the 4th century A.H. i.e. in the era of the Iranian rebirth and independence.

Out of the epic Masnavis only three are worth mentioning; Shāhnāma, Gashtāspnāma and Sikandernāma, of which Shāhnāma is the best.[4] The Shāhnāma is the best

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1. She'rul-'Ajam, Part IV, p.250.
2. ibid. p.252
3. Glimpses of Persian literature, p. 54.
4. She'rul-'Ajam, Part IV, p.252.

product of this century. It is so well-known that it needs no introduction. Next to it in merit comes Gashtāspnāma (Garshāspnāma) which describes the adventures and achievements of Garshāsp, an old legendary hero of Sistān (in India) and was composed in the 5th century A.H.[1] We get very useful information about Indo-Iranian relations before the spread of Islam in the two countries.[2] The Sikandarnāma is based upon the life and exploits of Alexander, the Great.

This form was peculiar to the Sasanian Age. (226A.D. - 651 A.D.). It, however, gradually developed during the early centuries of the Islamic era. The memory of the ancient Pahlavi was revived by two lengthy Maṣnawis Vis-o-Rāmin and Khusrau-o-Shirin composed in the 5th and 6th centuries A.H. respectively. These poems are two love-stories which had their source in the Pahlavi lore. After the skilled Maṣnawi-writers like Fakhruddin As'ad Gurgāni and Niẓāmi Ganjwi, a series of epic Maṣnawis were composed in the Mutaqārib metre in imitation of the style of Firdausi for a long time.[3]

In them they mostly celebrated the achievements and military exploits of the ruling Kings.[4]

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1. Literary History of Persia, Vol. II, p.273.
2. Glimpses of Persian Literature, p.54.
3. ibid, p.77.
4. ibid, p.78.

Next come the mystical and philosophical Maşnawis. The most famous among them are:-

1) Maşnawi-e-Şaiqalul-Arwāḥ of the great mystic poet, Rūmi. This Maşnawi is so well-known that it has come to be known as the Maşnawi.

2) The Ḥadiqatul-Ḥaqiqat of Sanāi Ghaznavi.

3) The allegorical Maşnawi of 'Aṭṭar, called the "Parliament of Birds" or "the Language of Birds".

4) The five Maşnawis of Niẓāmi, each of which deals with a different mystic, legendary or romantic subject and has a name of its own. These are Bahrām-nāma, Khusrau-o-Shirin, Laila Majnūn, Makhzanul-Asrār and Sikandar nāma.

5) In imitation of the above, Amir Khusrau wrote the following five Maşnawis which are very well-known: Maṭla'ul-Anwār, Shirin-o-Khusrau, Majnūn-o-Laila, Āina-e-Sikandari, and Hasht-Bihisht.[1] Besides this quintet Khusrau's Maşnawis - Qirānus Sa'dain, Miftāḥul-Futūḥ, Khizr Khan-o-Dewal Rāni, Nuh Sipihr, and Tughlaq-nama - are also well-known.

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1. Amir Khusrau, p.266.

* Dr. Wahid Mirzā gives Miftāḥul Futuḥ (Amir Khusrau, p. 245) while Mahdi Husain Nāgiri and Shibli give Tājul-Futūḥ (Ṣanādid-e-'Ajam, p.279 and She'rul 'Ajam, Part II, p.149).

6) The seven Maṣnawis of Jāmi called Sab'a-e-Jāmi, or Haft Aurang in imitation of Niẓāmi's Khamsa; Salāmān-o-Absāl; Yūsuf-o-Zulaikhā; Silsilatu-ẓ-Ẓahab; Tuḥfatul-Aḥrār; Subḥatul-Abrār; Lailā Majnūn; and Khiradnāma-e-Iskandari.[1] Mullā Jāmi himself admits that nobody could imitate Niẓāmi's quintet better than Khusrau.[2]

7) In the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaẓq, Ḥasan of Delhi wrote the Maṣnawi 'Ishqnama' which is an excellent composition, and his Kulliyāt includes besides other forms of poetry some Maṣnawis.

There were other poets who composed Maṣnawis but most of them are not very distinguished. Badar Chāchi was the poet laureate at the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq and had the title of "Fakhr-e-Zamān" (The Pride of the Time). He wrote Shāhnāma containing 20,000 verses at the King's command.

Between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. there was little progress in composition of Maṣnawis in India. This period produced a limited number of poets and scholars. It may be readily conceded that after the death of Amir Khusrau, Persian Literature in India was on the decline. New life was infused into it during the reign of Sikandar Lodhi. Hindus began to learn Persian and among them we have

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1. Tārikh-e-Adabiyāt-e-Irān (Urdu), p.431.
2. Ṣanādid-e-'Ajam, p. 280.

poets of high rank and order who contributed largely to the development of Persian poetry in India. The most prominent among the poets of the Lodhi period was Jalāluddin 'Jamāli' of whom Sikandar Lodhi was a pupil and patron. His Maṣnawi Mehr-o-Māh is well-known and was produced during the reign of the Lodhies.[1]

With the advent of the Moghals in India the literary and cultural contacts between India and Persia were strengthened, as a result of which there was a continuous exchange of poets and artists between the two countries.[2] According to Dr. Heramanne Ethe: "The Indian summer of Persian poetry brought about by Akbar and his successor Jehangir and Shahejahan is one of the brightest features of the Mughal rule in India."[3] Babar wrote the 'Maṣnawi-e-Mubīn' based on ethics. His descendants too had a flair for Persian poetry. They patronised the poets, and Persian poetry made advance by strides during their period. Their court attracted poets like 'Urfi Shirāzi, Naẓiri of Neshapur, Ṭālib Āmuli, Abu Ṭālib Kalim and Ṣā'ib Tabrizi.

(i) Qāsim Kāhi:- He came to India with Humāyūn from Kābul. He was the author of the 'Maṣnawi Gul Afshān'.

(ii) Ghazali Mashhadi was the Poet Laureate at the Court of Akbar. His best-known Maṣnawis are Mashhad-e-Anwār,

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1. Armughān-e-Pāk, p.51.
2. Indo-Iranica, June 1963, p.72.
3. ibid, p.74.

Mirātus-Ṣifāt, Naqsh-e-Badi' and Qudrat-e-Āgār and of these Naqsh-e-Badi' is considered to be his master-piece.[1]

(iii) Abul Faiz Faizi[2] succeeded Ghazāli as the Poet Laureate. At the instance of the Emperor he started the composition of a Khamsa in reply to Niẓāmi. The Khamsa includes the following Masnawis of which only two are available:—

1) Makhzanul-Adwār in reply to Makhzanul-Asrār.

2) Sulaimān-o-Bilqis in reply to Shirin-o-Khusrau.

3) Nal-Daman in reply to Lailā Majnūn.

4) Haft Kishwar in reply to Haft Paikar, and

5) Akbarnāma in reply to Sikandarnāma.

Of these, only two Masnawis namely Nal-Daman, and Makhzanul-Adwār or Markaz-e-Adwār are said to have been completed while no definite information regarding the completion of the others is available; but Abul Fazl[3] maintains that all were completed.

Markazul-Adwār is a didactic Masnawi, while the Nal-Daman is a romantic one dealing with the love-story of Nal-Daman, which is borrowed from the Mahābhārata.

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1. Ṣanādid-e-'Ajam, p. 308.
2. ibid, p.295.
3. ibid,

Of all the poets who migrated to India after Humāyun's return from Irān, 'Urfi leads all.[1] His Maṣnawis comprise Majma'ul-Afkār, Farhād-o-Shirin and Sāqināma. He was the most original of contemporary poets, and had high thoughts and a forceful style.[2] At the same time he was ambitious and self-respecting. He is regarded as a master of Ghazals but considered to be inferior to others in Maṣnawis and Qaṣida-writing.[3]

No mention of any Maṣnawi by Naẓiri Neshāpuri is made in any Tazkira.

Rāja Manohar Dās Tusan[4] was the first and most prominent Hindu poet of Akbar's reign. His poetic talent has been very much eulogised by the Emperor Jahāngir. He was the author of a Maṣnawi which is mentioned in the Anisul-'Āshiqain-o-Zakhmi and the Makhzanul-Gharā'ib also contains extracts from it.

Although most of the poets were attached to the Moghal court or were in the service of the nobles of the Moghal emperors, outside the Moghal Empire many poets of a high order like Ẓuhūrī, and Malike-Qummi flourished at the courts of the independent rulers in the Deccan. 'Iṣāmī,[5] the composer of Futuḥus-Salāṭīn was the first great poet of the Bahmani period. No Maṣnawi on the model of Firdausi's

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1. Armughān-e-Pāk, p.54.
2. ibid.
3. Ṣanādid-e-'Ajam, p.301.
4. Ababiyāt-e-Farsi men Hinduon kā Hissa, p.40.
5. Persian in the Deccan during 'Ādil Shāhi period, p.183.

Shāhnāma was attempted by any Indian poet before 'Iṣāmi. Futūḥus-Salāṭīn is the versified history in Persian of the Muslim conquest of India upto the establishment of the Bahmani regime.

Ẓuhūrī's fame mostly rests on his Sāqināma and Seh Nagr-e-Ẓuhūrī. He composed his masterpiece Sāqināma and dedicated it to his patron Burhān Niṣāmshāh.[1] Besides its unique literary excellence, Sāqināma contains valuable information about the times of the poet, and the Bohemian life of the Courtiers in the Deccan.

Most of the poets of Jahāngir's court were none other than the poets of the time of Akbar. Qudsi Mashhadi flourished after Ṭālib Āmuli and was awarded the Poet-Laureateship. He wrote a Maṣnawi Ẓafarnāma or Pādshāhnāma comprising eight thousand couplets describing the exploits of Shāhjahān, but left it uncompleted. It was later completed by Kalim Hamdāni. Besides this, Kalim Hamdāni who was also known as Abu Ṭālib Kalim,[2] composed Maṣnawis, descriptive of buildings erected by Shāhjahān and some important events of his rule. Kalim is the author of the following Maṣnawis:-

1. Jangnāma.
2. Akbarābād.
3. Qaiḥtsāli-e-Jahan.
4. Ṣa'ubat-e-Māh-e-Kashmir.
5. Ta'rif-e-Bahār-e-Kashmir.

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1. Persian in the Deccan during 'Ādilshāhi period, p. 214; Sarv-e-Āzād, p.34, and Khazāna-e-'Āmera, p.313.
2. Armughān-e-Pāk, p.64.

Muḥsin Fānī of Kashmir, according to Ethe,[1] was greatly honoured by Shāhjahān. His Dīwān consists of lyrics and the Maẓdarul-Asrūr, a Maṣnawi.

Ni'matkhān 'Ālī wrote Maṣnawis besides writing Ghazals and Qaṣidās. His poetry mirrors the freedom enjoyed by the poets and writers of his day and the trends in poetry during 'Ālamgīr's reign. He was satirical as is evidenced by his Ghazals, Qaṣidas and Maṣnawis. His satirical and critical poetry deserves special attention and thought.

'Ālamgir may not have patronized poets as his predecessors did, yet in his retinue there were some remarkable poets like Qummi and Ni'mat Khān 'Ali. But during his period the poetical work which became most popular was the Maṣnawi called Nairang-e-'Ishq by Ghanimat of Kunjāh.[2]

This Maṣnawi was quite in contrast with the ideology of the orthodox and religious-minded Emperor 'Ālamgir. The production of such a Maṣnawi during 'Ālamgir's reign was, no doubt, rather adventurous.[3] But according to Shaikh Muḥammad Ikrām it had an escapist tinge as against the opinions of the zealous reformers and censors of public morals.

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1. Ethe's Cat. p.1072 and Indo-Iranica, p.79. (June 1963).
2. Armughān-e-Pāk, pp.69-70.
3. ibid, pp.69-70.

The luxurious way of life as depicted in this Maqnawi culminated in the revelries of Jahāndār Shāh and his beloved Lāl Kunwar, a courtesan, as also those during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. In fine, it casts a flood of light on this particular aspects of life at the Courts in India during that period and reflects also the social life of the common people. Here we may conclude this survey of the development of Persian Maqnawi-writing in India prior to Bedil's time. Let us now turn to Bedil's Nuskha-e-'Irfān, the critical study of which forms a very important part of this thesis.

CHAPTER - VII

CRITICAL STUDY OF THE 'IRFĀN

After a brief survey of Maṣnawi - writing in the Persian literature and its development especially in India during the Moghal regime, we now turn to the main chapter of this thesis. In this chapter we shall attempt to write a faithful critique on one of Bedil's best Maṣnawis running into eleven thousand couplets, a composition which Bedil himself liked the most of all his Maṣnawis:-[1]

شکر ایزد که نسخهٔ عرفان ـ یافت اقبال ز اختتام بیان
لیک هر گاه در شمار آمد ـ بر زبان یازده هزار آمد[2]

It took[3] Bedil nearly thirty years to complete the Nuskha-e-'Irfān, and it is most representative of Bedil's poetic talent. It contains the experiences of his life and the very essence of the philosophy which he preached and practised himself. So far nothing worth-while seems to have been written about it. It would be proper, therefore, to discuss the poetic merits of the 'Irfān, assess its worth and estimate how far Bedil succeeded in depicting the spirit of his age in this work.

1&3 Sefine-e- Khushgo, p.194.

2. Nuskha-e- 'Irfān (MS.), p.624.

In one of his letters to Nawab Shukrullāh Khān wishing him early recovery from illness, Bedil happens to mention: " - - - nowadays as I have no pressing engagement and I have ample leisure at my disposal; I am thinking of writing the 'Irfān and the Chahār 'Unṣur - - - " But it is not clear from the letter when the Nawab fell ill and in which year exactly Bedil sent this letter to him. Still, it is quite reasonable to assume from the letters, that both the works referred to by Bedil were being written simultaneously and neither of them was complete at the time the letter was written. Bedil does not tell us which particular chapter of 'Irfān he was composing at this time. It was, as we know, customary with Bedil to discuss with Shukrullāh Khān, the work Bedil was intending to write. Another passing but important remark Bedil made about the 'Irfān is quoted by Khushgo in his Safina. Bedil liked the 'Irfān most and felt proud of it. It entirely deals with Ṣufism and Mysticism, and is written in the metre of the Ḥadiqa-e- Ḥakim-e- Sanāi:

" از آنجمله یازده هزار ابیت (کذا) نسخهٔ عرفانست در بحر حدیقهٔ حکیم سنائی که بر آن مثنوی ناز می کرد - چنانچه اکثر از زبان مبارکش شنیده ام که آنچه ما داریم نسخهٔ عرفانست .... سراسر گفتگوی تصوف و معارف دارد ...."

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1. Safina-e- Khushgo, p. 123-24.

NUSKHA-E'-IRFAN: Really speaking, this Masnawi consists of two Masnawis:-

1) Masnawi-e- Mirat or Miratullah which is very short and covers only ninety-one pages (i.e. pp. 50 to 140).

2) The main Masnawi 'Irfan covering the rest of the pages (i.e. from 141 to 625).

3) Pages 1 to 49 comprise a lengthy introduction.

Masnawi-e- Mirat is more philosophcal and less poetic than the 'Irfan, deals with philosophical theories and aims at supplying philosophical and metaphysical information, rather than more aesthetic pleasure, while the main 'Irfan is the longest and best of all Masnawis of Bedil. In 'Irfan', description of beautiful scenery, stories of ever-lasting and immortal interest, depiction of many characters full of life and individuality, in general, and treatment of themes like philosophical observation and statement of proverbs, and generalisations on war and the arts of peace find place.

MASNAWI-E- NUSKHA-E- 'IRFAN:

The MS. of the Nuskha-e- 'Irfan in the possession of the present writer is complete and comprises eleven thousand couplets. It begins with a salutation to the Lord, as follows:-

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

عقل و حس سمع و بصر جان و جسد ۔ ہمہ عشقست ہو اللہ احد

and ends with a couplet containing a chronogram yielding the year of its completion:-

کرد تاریخ او نیازِ کرام ـ ہدیۂ ذوالجلالِ والاکرام

۲۹۹ + ۸۰۱ + ۲۴ = ۱۱۲۴ ھ

On the last page there is a remark to the effect that it was scribed by Sayed Muḥammad on 6th Rabi'ussāni 1128 A.H.:-

"این نسخۂ عرفان بفضلِ الٰہی بتاریخ ششم شہر ربیع الثانی سنہ ۱۱۲۸ بخط فقیر الحقیر سید محمد باستعانت حضرت رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم صورتِ اتمام یافت"

As is evident from the line on the very first page, the present MS. belonged to one Sayed 'Azizullāh. No information regarding this gentleman is available. It was in the possession of Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Aslam who happens to be a relative of this writer. It seems to have been in the possession of his father but how it came to be with that gentleman is not known. It was rebound, and the blank sheets inserted in the very beginning by the binder contain the following remark in pencil:-

" The name of this manuscript is Nushkhai-e- 'Irfān (or an essay on diems). The author of this was Moulana Fedil, a celebrated poet and saint of Delhi who flourished in the reign of the emperor Shajehan of Delhi 1600. This MS. was written in 1128 Hijra (154 years ago) by Sayid Mohammad."

December 1965"

The name of the writer of the remark, quoted above is not given. The 'Irfān consists of 628 pages in all. There is a seal bearing some words: "Mutawassil Khān Bahādur" in Persian and at the top in the left hand corner the following words are scribed:-

مثنوی عرفان
در بلدهٔ فاخرهٔ شاه جهان آباد نویسانده شد سنه ۱۱۳۷ .....
جلوس محمد شاهی

در شاه جهان آباد
نویسانده شد

Three hunded and sixty pages of the Masnawi are of saffron coloured paper and the remaining are of almond colouring. Thick paper of Indian manufacture (hand-made paper) is used.

It is written in a beautiful 'nast'al'iq' hand throughout. There are eighteen couplets per page. Every chapter begins with a title in the form of a couplet and it is written in red ink, while the rest is written in black ink. The couplets giving the titles and chapter-headings, read consecutively, form an independent poem. The size of the 'Irfān is 10" x 6".

Bedil refers to the title of his Masnawi in three places in all. In two places, Bedil mentions the title of the Masnawi as Nuskha-e- 'Irfān and in one place he calls it جریدهٔ راز (The Book of Secret).

میشود ساز نسخهٔ عرفان ـ قصهٔ از توجه انسان ۲
شکر انیزد که نسخهٔ عرفان ـ یافت اقبال از اختتام بیان
بیدل امروز کین جریدهٔ راز ـ نقش انجام لبست بر آغاز

There are some critics who hold that a long poem is nothing but an artificial composition because a poet cannot be imagined to sustain the emotional excitement he experiences for such a long period. But as S.A.Vahid points out in the following lines, a long poem is as good as a short one, but can be composed by a great poet alone:—

"There are critics who maintain that a long poem is really a contradiction in terms, because according to them, poetry is essentially the language of excitement, and as excitement is always of brief duration, there can be no such thing as a long poem. While the force of this argument cannot be totally denied it must be said that this criticism of long poems is to a certain extent based on a misunderstanding of the true nature of poetry. While the universal appeal of short poems, mostly lyrical, cannot be denied, it must be admitted that long poems, by giving the poet an opportunity for sustained effort, provide a truer test of his art. While it will be wrong to suggest that the excellence of a poem depends upon its length, it can safely be said that the long poem can be successfully composed only by a great poet."[1]

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1. Introduction to Iqbal by S.A.Vahid (Pakistan Publications, Karachi.), p.24.

It would be proper, therefore, to examine critically Bedil's Maṣnawi 'Irfān, and bring out its salient features and thus justify Bedil's title to be considered one of the greatest of the Persian poets of India.

In this Maṣnawi Bedil turns to the search of the Truth. He tries to trace the very origin of animal and human forms. He states that there are three broad kingdoms in Nature: (i) Mineral, (ii) Vegetable, and (iii) Animal including Human. Bedil debates at length the relative merits of each and comes to the conclusion that the Mineral Kingdom is the lowest in the order of things, while the Human Kingdom is the highest.

While considering the Animal Kingdom, Bedil refers to the various species and their forms. He opines that the most highly evolved species is the human species. However, according to Bedil, the ancestry of even this form, namely the human form, is to be traced back right down to the Mineral class.

According to the Holy Qurān, the first and foremost link of human being was نفسِ واحدةٍ [1] (the single Self, or

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1 يا ايها الناس اتقوا ربكم الذى خلقكم من نفس واحدة (سورة النسا)

(O People, be careful of (your duty) to your Lord, who created you from a single being).
by Md. 'Ali, Part IV.
Capter IV, P.198.

the single Soul), which gradually developed out of earth[1] (or rather, dust) and finally evolved into the human form. Bedil explains the term Hayulā by citing a few examples. He calls it طبیعتِ بیرنگ Though[2] Hayulā is sometimes translated as 'Matter', it is not a proper equivalent here. But the word should be understood to refer to the first principle of every thing material, i.e. to something supposed to be in existence before the formation of physical matter, and something that may be perceived by the mind alone:

فکر ہر جا رموز تخم شگافت ـ جز ہیولائی برگ و بار نیافت (بیدل ص ۲۰۴)

Bedil discusses evolution in very clear terms in the 'Irfān. Of course, it is not the same as the one propounded by Charles Darwin.[3]. Nor is it exactly in accordance with the idea of growth and perfection as one finds in ancient Ṣufistic books also. At the same time, Bedil's idea deserves great attention. In one of his couplets Bedil says that man, before he assumed the form of fully developed human being was a monkey:

ہیچ شکلی بی ہیولی قابلِ صورت نہ شد ـ آدمی ہم پیشتر زان کآدم شود بوزینہ بود

(بیدل ص ۲۰۵)

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1. "The earth" does not here signify the planet on which we liv
2. (i) See 'Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp.33-
   (ii) Mujaddid's conception of Tawhid pp.99
   " - - - is the hayulā or matter of all beings."
   "Hayula is 'Matter' in the Aristotelean sense, which has Surat or 'Form' as its correlative.
   (ibid, p.60, Footnote).
3. Adab Kabul, Oct/Nov. 1965, pp. 17 - 18. * Bedil p 205.

According to him every form is evolved out of matter and has, behind it, a wonderful chain of different stages of evolution. Everything right from an atom to the human being, is perfect in itself. Here Bedil differs from some of the Ṣufis who treat world as unreal :

هیچ موجودی بعرضِ شوق ناقص جلوه نیست
ذرّه هم در رقصِ موهومی که دارد کامل است[2]

The Hayulā of a tree, its leaves and fruit is the seed itself. If we try to know the Hayula of the tree, we find that the origin is that very seed out of which it is evolved:

برگ و بر نیز گاهِ پیدائی ـ می کند تخم را هیولائی[3]

Similarly the Hayulā of water is air and vice versa. Their different forms are the result of high or low temperature. When boiled water gets evaporated it assumes the form of air and as soon as the temperature falls to a particular degree the vapour becomes water again:

آب گاهِ لطافت است هوا ـ چون هوا از فسردن آب نما[4]

One form gives birth to another form. The first is the Hayulā and the second constitutes its very material form.

جلوه بر جلوه آنچه پیدا شد ـ آن یکی صورت آن هیولا شد[5]

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1. Bedil, p.205.
2. Adab Kabul, Oct/Nov. 1965, pp.17-18.
3,4&5 Nuskha-e- 'Irfān, (MS) p.62.

Whatever exists or can exist is a mirror to the 'Objects and their Attributes'* (اسماوصفات) in their physical form, and can be perceived by the senses. The last and the finest example Bedil gives is that of the mirror and the image. As long as the image remains (i.e.) is constant and visible, the mirror, as a mirror, loses its entity and fades into insignificance and we, for a moment, forget all about it and perceive the image that seems to cover the surface of the mirror, and the mirror momentarily becomes invisible, while the image is apparent or visible:

نقش پیدا و آئینہ مجبوب ۔ بخفا گشت ازین سبب منسوب

In fine, Hayūlā does not have dimensions. It is something abstract which can be perceived by the mind only; or as the poet puts it.

این ہیولیٰ نہ عرض و طول است ۔ چون طبیعت وجودِ معقول است

(In fine, Hayula has no length nor breadth; but it exists of itself as only the Reason is able to perceive.)

As regards material things Bedil advises us not to neglect them and treat them as unreal:

غافل از عالمِ جماد مباش (نسخۂ عرفان ص۲۸۲)

1&2 Nuskha-e- 'Irfān, (MS) pp .62,63 respectively.

* These are philosophical terms with a highly technical sense. They are not to be understood in their popular sense.

Bedil believes it possible to establish some kind of communication between man and things about him. These things also are, as if, conversing with us but through our inattentiveness we are unable to understand them. Maulānā Jalāluddin Balkhi also says:

نُطقِ آب و نُطقِ باد و نُطقِ گِل ـ ہست محسوسِ حواسِ اہلِ دِل

(The conversion of water, wind and earth is perceived by the Sufis only). But Bedil differs from his predecessors (who wrote in Persian) on this point. His argument may be summarised as follows:-

"Since we are not capable of talking directly to the Abstract Truth حقیقتِ مجرّد and since, this Abstract Truth is communicating with us through the various things of the world, the only means we possess of listening to the words of God is through knowledge." So, he believes that it is not the things in the universe that talk to us, but it is the voice of God that we hear through them.

According to Bedil the real source of evolution and perfection of things is air (as the well-known Greek philosopher Anaxymenes also holds)[1]. This air is the subtle essence which infuses life into all existing things ranging from stone to man. We gradually attain the human

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1. Adab, Kabul, Oct/Nov. 1965, p.18.

form in this wonderful process of evolution of things and creatures. Every thing which came into being before man, was just a matter of practice in Creation for the Creator. And the process of creation and evolution has reached its perfection in the beautiful human form, and this handful of dust has the power to comprehend the Universe:

جسمِ اصلی ہمین کفی خاکست ـ کہ محیطِ رموزِ افلاکست[2]
نقشبندِ ہوا درین پردہ ـ عالمی را بصورت آوردہ
مرجعِ خلق و منبعِ اشکال ـ مرکزِ علم و مصدرِ اعمال[2]

As Bedil says, every drop of water and every particle or atom has the breath of life; but he extols man alone, saying that man[3] is the source of creative Activity or Art, as well as the receiver or meeting-place of all sensory experience, the centre of knowledge, and origin of act and deed. Thus Man comprises 'Body' and 'Knowledge'.

'Knowledge' is a special term used by Bedil in his philosophy. It should not be confused with knowledge of the Scriptures and commentaries on them nor with technical "Know-how" resembling modern, pure and applied "Sciences". It reminds one of the corresponding philosophical term used by the Italian philosopher Pensiero[4] in his philosophy. For Bedil knowledge does not mean merely cognition and collection

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1&2. 'Irfān (MS.), p.403.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Adab, Kabul, Oct/Nov. 1965 p.19.

of information; it also suggests coordination of known facts and search of unknown ones; it includes creative activity too.

In the foregoing pages we have discussed the subject matter of the Maṣnawi 'Irfān. Now we may turn to the critical study of its other characteristics and try to bring out its poetic beauties:

Salient Features of the 'Irfān:- Bedil has exploited such characteristics in this Maṣnawi as are not to be found in the Maṣnawis of the poets of Iran. Although these qualities do not constitute essential features of a Maṣnawi, it may well be called Bedil's ingenious device or originality. It is just possible that Bedil imitated his predecessor Amir Khusrau in this respect to make the 'Irfān attractive, since we come across such devices as:

1. Naẓm-e- 'Unwān
2. Waṣf-e- Ashyā.
3. Taẓmin-e- Ghazal.

Out of these three Bedil has principally used the first two. The significance of these devices may be brought out here.

Nazm-e- 'Unwāni- (Title-poem)

A Maṣnawi may be an epic or a philosophic, didactic or narrative poem and when the subject-matter is long, according to the traditional practice it is divided into parts or chapters with a chapter-heading in prose. But like Amir[1] Khusrau, Bedil gives the title of every chapter in the form of a couplet. If all these couplets are collected together, they form a regular poem. The writer of this thesis has done and has given all these couplets in Appendix No.II. The beauty of the composition lies in the fact that these couplets are composed in a special metre which is quite different from the usual metre of the Maṣnawi. The measure selected for these couplets is long enough to express the title with ease. Besides the regular narrative forming the major theme of each chapter, there are many other topics interwoven with it and they do not bear headings or captions. Just like Khusrau's Qirānus-Sa'dain, the 'Irfān also contains descriptions of many things and sights which impressed Bedil, and also his views on themes like:

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1. "Every Qaṣida or Tarkib Band in Amir Khusrau's Diwān begins with a couplet which precisely describes its subject-matter. This is probably the invention of Khusrau since no poet - predecessor or contemporary - ever thought of using such a device. When collected together, all these couplets are termed as Abyāt-e- Silsila (ابیات سلسلہ) form a Qaṣidā i.e. all the couplets are composed in one metre and have one and the same Radīf (i.e. word preceding the rhyme) and rhyme"
(Wahid Mirzā: Amir Khusrau, p.207).

i) Freedom, patience, greed, idleness, honour, contemplation, life and death, travelling, good or evil, love and beauty, alchemy, rebirth.

ii) He also is struck by sights like a farmer ploughing his fields, or a washermen busy at his work or Jogis bathing in the Ganges etc.

iii) Very common objects like bread and trees too move the poet to poetic expression.

The 'Irfān' like Khusrau's Qirānus-Sa'dain, does contain description of different objects but lacks Tazmin-e-Ghazal (i.e. the art of introducing Ghazels appropriate to the occasion in a Maṣnavi to reduce or lessen the monotony). The particular device of patching a Ghazal or a Qaṣida in a Maṣnavi was most probably borrowed by Khusrau from the Bhāshā poetry. It is, no doubt, very interesting and pleasant, but it cannot be successfully utilised by a poet who is adept in only one of the forms of poetical composition. In other words only a master-poet can do so.

Waṣf-e- Ashyā : (Description of Objects)

It is a characteristic of the 'Irfān that the description of objects has been given incidentally along with the main topic or story as the occasion demands. A brief list of such topics or objects is as follows:—

THE REQUISITES OF THE MASNAWI:

The following are the traditional requisites of a Masnawi:-

1) Praise of the Providence.
2) Prayers.
3) Praise of the Prophet
4) Praise of the ruling King.
5) Description of the battle and the assembly.
6) Features of the beloved.
7) Union and separation.

It is customary for poets to exert themselves to display their artistic talent while composing these parts.

Subject matter of the 'irfān is not merely poetic, it is mystical and philosophical too. Only a poet who knows the intricacies of mystical knowledge can do justice to such a theme. Unlike the practice of his predecessors Bedil begins the Masnawi with praise of Adam (i.e. the first man, and incidentally in general, humanity) and thus indirectly praises the Lord.

1) Praise of Adam:

چیست آدم تجلّیٔ ادراک ـ یعنی آن فهم معنیٔ کولاک ہ

احدیت بنای محکم او ـ الف افتاده علت دم او
دال او مخزن اول و انجام ـ که در و حد و حدانست تمام
میم آن ختم خلقت عالم ـ این بود لفظ معنی آدم
ملزم کائنات و هر چه در و ست ـ جوش بیتابی حقیقت اوست

(ص ۲)

* * *

2) Praise of the Prophet:

In Fedil's opinion the Prophet is the perfection of the existence of humanity and also the honour of the realities of the world. He is the very essence of the visible and invisible world. Moreover, he mirrors the external beauty. He is that person whose smile, on the first day of creation was termed 'The first Morn of Creation:

حیرت آئینه های صورت فهم ـ نو نگاهان رنگ عالم و هم
جبهه سودند در جناب رسول ـ تا شود علم روح شان معقول
آن کمال حقیقت آدم ـ آبروی حقایق عالم
جوهر اعتبار غیب و شهود ـ اصل کیفیت خفا و نمود

(ص ۷)

* * * * *

روزی آئینۂ جمالِ قدیم ـ احمدِ مجتبیٰ رسولِ کریم
آنکہ نامِ تبسمش بازل ؏ ـ بود صبحِ تعینِ اوّل ؏
آنکہ حرفِ تکلمش بابد ـ بردہ سررشتۂ حضورِ احد
بہ بیانِ نورِ ارجمندی داد ـ ذکرِ معراج را بلندی داد

(ص ۹۱-۵۹۰)

* * *

The Divine Element (امرِ حق):- Speaking of the Cosmos, Bedil says it is a divine creation and not work done by you or me. God is essentially, all attributes. He is one and not two. Whatever seems to exist as if it were other than God, constitutes the dust of fancies (اوہام). Form always dominates the name. Whatever is once illuminated by the Divine Essence, loses its separate identity. Duality has no place at all so far as the question of understadning God is concerned. Whether what we consider is real or unreal, it is nothing but a reflection of Divine Beauty alone. Spiritual Love grows out of violent earthyl desires and as

Bedil metaphorically puts it, the 'fly' tears the collar of the 'phoenix', the fly being equivalent to the ardent but ordinary human votary, the phoenix being used to signify God:

امرِ حق است امرِ ما و تو نیست ـ وصف بالذات واحد است دو نیست

ماسوی الله غبارِ اوهام است ـ شخص پیوسته غالب نام است

خاصه مغلوبِ حضرتِ الله ـ که بفهمش دوئی ندارد راه

گر حقیقت وگر مجازِ خود است ـ حسن آئینه دارِ نازِ خود است

عشق می بالد از هوس اینجا ـ حبیب عنقا در دمگس اینجا

(ص ۱۰)

Most of the popular constituent parts or requisites of a Masnawi are deliberately dropped by Bedil in the 'Irfān as it is a purely mystical Masnawi dealing with God, creation of the world, Man, the extent of his power and his limitations, and many other topics pertaining to Sufism or mysticism.

Now we may quote from the 'Irfān, selected couplets which express one or the other poetic quality:

1. Force and Effect (جوش واثر)

چه خرامیم پا لنگل داریم - بر که بندیم بارِ دل داریم

از که نالیم ناله منفعل است - ای بیان آب شو نفس خجلت

دردِ ما از خود است ناله چه سود - سعیِ مرهم بداغِ لاله چه سود

بر که پرواز در قفس بالد - ناله هم در دلِ نفس نالد

موی چینی است سینه خستنِ ما - سرمه می بالد از شکستنِ ما (ص ۴۳)

عمر شد صرفِ وهم تازیها - هوش وقفِ جنون طرازیها

که دهد عمرِ رفته را آواز - عمر از آواز بر نگردد باز

روزِ ما امیدِ فردا نیست - چه توان کرد فرصت اینجا نیست

(ص ۴۴-۴۵)

اگر اینست عشرتِ مقسوم - خاک در جامِ لذتِ موهوم

از تهی کیسه زندگی است کباب - ننگِ دریا بود وجودِ حباب

(ص ۲۴۴) * * *

همت مرد اگر کند شود ـ آسمان تا کجا بلند شود
ور بدریا کشی فتد کارش ـ شرم گیرد دماغِ خمّارش
بحر تا چند جوشِ باده زند ـ تا بجامش غمِ ارادہ زند
طاقتِ مرد اگر قدم فشرد ـ کوہ از سایہ پشتِ دست خورد

(ص ۳۲۷)

گشت از برقِ صولتِ بیتاب ـ تا دلِ کوہ زہرہا ہمہ آب
سر زد از جوشِ زخم و خونِ روان ـ شور چندین تنور و یک طوفان

(ص ۴۸۳)

* * *

2. Pathos and impassioned style

سوز و گداز

چہ سرایید برون پردۂ راز ـ بیدلِ بیچ، جملہ کردۂ اوست
محرمِ حق ز خود خبر دارد ـ ناظرِ او بخود نظر دارد
یعنی از دانش تحرّکیش ـ میدہد عجز و می تند بر خویش
بہ کہ ما ہم نیاز پیش بریم ـ سجدۂ نذرِ عجز خویش بریم

(ص ۶۲۲)

* * * * *

بقضا سر فگندہ ایم ہمہ ـ چارۂ نیست بندہ ایم ہمہ

(ص ۴۶۲)

ایجاز :- 3. Brevity

عشق از مشت خاک آدم رخت - آنقدر خون که رنگ عالم رخت
جانب آسمان نگاهی کرد - دست بر دل نهاد و آهی کرد

(ص ۳۱۷)

***

ملک برجا و کامران مبهم - تخت موجود و جانشین بعدم
تو سخن، من سخن، زمانه سخن - همه را علت و بهانه سخن

(ص ۱۳۳)

***

آفت از شش جهت تلاطم کرد - عافیت کوچهٔ امان گم کرد

(ص ۴۸۳)

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4. FRESHNESS OF STYLE:- تازگی بیان

Change of seasons, morning and evening, and day and night have been described by Bedil in quite a new and original way whenver possible:-

ابر بر فرق خاک بال همامست - جرم خورشید را وبال ضیامست

(ص ۱۶۲)

بہار

تا نگہ نیست محرمِ گلزار ۔ در نقابست گفت و گوی بہار

(ص ۶۶)

خاک تا صفحۂ بہار نشد قدرتِ ابر آشکار نشد

(ص ۷۹)

جوشِ گلہای آب و رنگ نشد زخم چندیست نا امید رفو

غنچہ ہا از فشارِ سینۂ تنگ ۔ زدہ دستِ نفس بدامنِ رنگ

لالہ ہا عرضِ تیرہ رختی چند ۔ خفتہ در خونِ سیاہ بختی چند

سنبلستان تاب دادہ بہم ۔ پرچمی چند خاک خوردہ علم

موی ماتم کشانِ رعنائیست ۔ عبرت اینجا دلیلِ بینائیست

نتوان صحنِ گلستان فہمید ۔ مرقدِ صد ہزار رنگِ شہید

(ص ۱۶۸)

دید باغِ بہار سامانی ۔ طوبیٰ آرا بہشت عنوانی

نخلہا سایہ گسترِ رحمت ۔ برگہا دستِ دعوتِ رافت

بلبلان تر زبان شرم ثنا ۔ جویبار آبیارِ رنگ حیا

گل کتاب کشادِ پیشانی ۔ سبزہ یکسر خطِ ادب خوانی

(ص ۵۸۲)

خزان

صبح از بادِ مهرگان دم زد ۔ ابر جامِ امیدِ شبنم زد
شد چراغانِ آب و رنگ خموش ۔ خمِ لشو و نما نشست ز جوش
گلستان جلوه در نظر ہا داد ۔ ز عفران زارِ خندان رفته باد
نرگس از چشمکِ مراوت ماند ۔ نگه از دیده رفت و حیرت ماند
می بخوشیده بر گِ تاک چکید ۔ جبهه پیش از عرق بخاک چکید
سنبلِ زلفِ ناز تاب زده ۔ گشت سطرِ کتابِ آب زده
برگی از کسوتِ نہال نماند ۔ ہمه پرواز گشت و بال نماند
رنگہا جمله گردِ رم گردید ۔ شفقِ گلشنِ عدم گردید
غنچه با خویش بر دسینهٔ چاک ۔ لاله ہمدوشِ داغ رفت بخاک
ماند از بزمِ رنگ و بو باقی ۔ باده بیرنگی و خزان باقی
(ص ۷۰ - ۱۶۹)

صبح و شام

صبح پیشانیٔ گشادهٔ کیست؟ ۔ شامِ زلفِ بپا فتاده کیست؟
(ص ۱۴۲)
شب بتاراج رفت و صبح دمید ۔ جلوه بگداخت آئینه بالید
(ص ۲۴۳)
صبحدم کآسمانِ سحر فسون ۔ قرصِ زرّین ز لوته ریخت برون
(ص ۵۱۳)
آفتاب از شعاعِ برق کین ۔ بر سنان لبست مغفرِ زرّین
(ص ۴۸۲)
چون بخوابانَد آفتابِ علم ۔ غوطه در تیرگی زند عالم
(ص ۲۵۳)
صبح نسرینِ بہاری خندید ۔ شامِ حمشِ بنفشه می بالید
(ص ۱۶۵)

* * * *

5. Aphorisms and analogies :- حکمت و اخلاق و تمثیل

1. (P.14). شرم هر جا بساط آراید۔ نگه از خویش بر نمی آید

Wherever bashfulness spreads its carpet, the glance does not dare to leave the eye.

2. (p.17) خاکِ غفلت مکن لبفرقِ شعور۔ نیست غفلت مگر تغافلِ نور

Do not apply the dust of negligence on the forehead of consciousness, Darkness means nothing but neglect on the part of light.

3. (p.17) بندگی عالمِ خدائی نیست۔ قفس آئینۂ رہائی نیست

Servitude does not mean the world of God. The cage is not a 'mirror' (means) of salvation.

4. (p.37) میرود صبح و میکند فریاد ۔ کہ چراغیست عمر در رہ باد

As the Morn passes it raises the cry that life is a burning lamp exposed to wind.

5. (p.44) کہ دہد عمرِ رفتہ را آواز ۔ عمر از آواز برنگردد باز

Who can recall the past life. Life does not return however much one shouts at it.

6. (p.7) طفل باشد اگر کمال اندیش۔ نگریزد ز تربیت گرِ خویش

If a child is sincere and serious, it does not run away from its tutor.

7. (p.83) در مقامیکه نظم پیمائی ست آب شمشیر هم گوارائی ست

In a place where there is perfect peace and order and justice reigns, the water of sword (i.e. the keen edge of the sword, or death) also is pleasant and agreeable.

8. (p.89) چون بحکم حساب جمع شود ـ شعله و موم و رشته شمع شود

When wax, wick and flame are combined together in the right proportion, they form a candle.

9. (p.121) گر یقین چشم هوش بکشاید ـ سنگ هم جزو پریت ننماید

If Faith opens your eyes of senses, even a stone will appear like a fairy to you.

10. (p.162) غفلت از گاو و خر هنر باشد ـ آگهی جوهر بشر باشد

Negligence on the part of a bull and a donkey may be condoned as skill, but in men only consciousness is a virtue.

11. (p.186) جهد هرگز نمی شود پامال ـ ریشه ها از دویدنست نهال

Efforts are never wasted. Roots become a plant by means of struggle only.

12. (p.193) پس چه ماضی کدام مستقبل ـ مفگن در بنای حال خلل

Why do you care for the past or the future to disturb the very foundation of your present ?

13. (p.201) مُفلسان را درین جنون بازار ـ غیر سیر و سفر نباشد کار

In this market of madness, the poor do not have any other work except wandering and travelling.

14. (p.254) مگس آنجا که قند می ریزند ـ نگه آنجا که رنگ می بیزند

Flies rush to the place where sugar is scattered and the glance at once falls on the object which is colourful.

15. (p.261) نیست از دست ناتوان حالی ـ مور را چاره ز پامالی

Only because it is helpless the ant has no other go except to get itself crushed under feet.

16. (p.194) از مگس بر همما مگیر قیاس ـ عشق را مارغ از هوس بشناس

Do not try to judge the phoenix by the fly. Mistake not 'Love' for carnal desire.

17. (p.199) مرد از مفلسی زبون گردد ـ شیشه چون شد تهی نگون گردد

Poverty brings a man into disgrace. When the pitcher is empty it is turned upside down.

18. (p.199) بی نم آب ریشه نال شود ـ صدف بی گهر سفال شود

For want of moisture a root turns into a hollow reed, and if an oyster does not contain a pearl it is as good as an earthen pot.

19. (p.198) امتیاز است آفتِ ہر کس۔ آئینہ عکس می نماید و بس

To make distinction between one thing and another is to court disaster; for, the mirror reflects the real object, and that's all.

20. (p.232) ہر چہ زخمست مرہمی دارد۔ ہر گل آغوش شبنمی دارد

Ointment is applied to each and every wound and every flower has a cup (lit. the lap) to hold dew in it.

21. (p.265) فطرت آئینہ دار راز کنید۔ می رود جلوہ چشم باز کنید

Let your heart mirror the (divine) secrets. Open your eyes to the divine splendour.

22. (p.324) غافلانی کہ جہل پیمانند۔ مرگ انبوہ جشن می خوانند

Only the illiterate and ignorant call the death of a mass of people a festival.

23. (p.399) تو در ینجا گمانِ نفہم مبر۔ ساز را از نوا کجاست خبر؟

Do not be under wrong impression that you understand (things in this world); since a musical instrument is not aware of the tune or melody at all.

6. Imaginativeness: تخیّل

Imaginativeness is the very soul of poetry. The 'Irfān contains many couplets which are fine examples of the flight of imagination:—

1. (p.10) عشق می بالد از هوس اینجا ـ حبیب عنقا در دگس اینجا

'Love' grows out of passion here and the collar of the phoneix is torn by a fly.

2. (p.34) ذرّه جیب امتیاز شگافت ـ رمز عریانیٔ یقین دریافت

A particle tore the collar of discrimination or distinction and thus divulged the secret of the 'nudity' of Faith.

3. (p.64) تا کلیم خرد یقین نظر است ـ جسم طور تجلّیٔ دگر است

As long as 'Moses of Reason' is the faith of eyes, the human body is another Sinai of divine splendour.

4. (p.155) به فضای تجدّد امثال ـ شاهباز قدیم زد پر و بال

The Royal Falcon (i.e. God) fluttered its wings (flew) in the sky of the renewal of forms (فضای تجدّد امثال i.e. the Universe / world).

5. (p.171) دهم یک عمر زد الفت باخت ـ یوسف از رنگ پیرهن نشناخت

Mind played chess of love throughout life, still it did not recognise Joseph from the colour of the shirt (i.e. All my life I tried to realise God through Love, but could not know him).

6. (p.180) طپش دل بصد هزار آهنگ - هر نفس شیشه میزند بر سنگ

The palpitation of heart is striking the glass pitcher against a stone every moment making a million sounds.

7. (p.272) دُردِ ظلمت بصافِ نورِ خطاست - می صفای آفتاب ضیاست

The combination/mixture of the dregs of darkness with the purity of light is wrong. Light is the wine contained in the pitcher of the Sun.

8. (p.297) حرف وسطرِ کتابِ کون وفساد - بود یکدست انقلاب سواد

Every letter and line of the book of formation and decomposition was entirely inclined to change.

9. (p.303) بسکه اینجا ز عجز یاس نمود - زورقِ ماه رفته است فرو

So in this world on account of the discouraging helplessness the boat of the moon has sunk.

10. (p.389) حیّ نفس بر جهات دهر دمید - کاروانهای بوی گل جوشید

The living God passed his breath over the surface of the world and the caravans of the fragrance of roses rushed forward.

11. (p.401) فطرتش را ز ظرفِ عرفان جوشکه - نه فلک طفلِ دایهٔ آغوش

On account of the intense capacity of his nature, even the nine heavens are like a child in the lap of a nurse.

12. (p.403) نقشبندِ هوا درین پرده ـ عالمی را بصورت آورده

The artist of air has painted/drawn the world on this screen.

13. (p.407) بشکن آئینه‌های وهم و قیاس ـ نورِ خود را بآفتاب شناس

Break the mirrors of fancy and conjecture and know your own light by means of the Sun.

Figures of Speech: صنایع و بدایع

Similies and Metaphors: تشبیه و استعاره

(p.346) ما همه نقشبندِ تشبیهیم ـ عبرت کارگاهِ تنزیهیم

We are painters or artists in similes and a lesson in purification (of style).

The similes and metaphors used in the 'Irfān are mostly of a rare type and no simile is repeated twice. At some places hackneyed simile is rendered very subtle and pleasant by merely adding a fine point. Here are some similes and metaphors:

1. (p.13) رفت ناگاه پنجه‌اش بگشاد ـ نان بزنگِ صدف در آب افتاد

The child went near the well. All of a sudden he opened his hand and the piece of bread fell down into water like a conch shell.

2. (p.24) وانکه در دشت یادِ خانه کند ـ هم بنومیدی آشیانه کند
هچو مرغی که از تصورِ دام ـ در غمِ آشیان طپید بدام

He who is homesick in a forest or desert and becomes disappointed is just like a bird which foolishly struggles in the snare through its yearning or longing for its nest.

3. (p.174) عرقِ سعی در غبار مریز ـ هچو صبح از غبارِ خود بگریز

Do not shed the drops of the sweat of your efforts in dust. Do not run away from your own dust (lit. dust) like the Morn

4. (p.182) کرده لطفِ عمیم بی غرضش ـ هچو جوهر منزه از عرضش

His selfless and universal favour and generosity had made him as distinct as Matter is from Form.

5. (p.187) هچو می غم زدای مخموران ـ چون شفا دستگیرِ رنجوران

The rich man was just like the wine which causes drunkards to forget their grief and sorro , and when he was helping the ailing people he was like recovery from disease.

6. (p.189) دست چون کاسهٔ یتیم تهی ـ کیسه چون معدهٔ لئیم تهی

His hand was like the bowl of the orphan, and his pocket like the belly of a miser—ever empty.

7. (p.221) همچو شبنم ز شوخیِ گل و خار — آب می داد چشمِ رفته ز کار

Hurt by thorns, dew gathers on rose petals; so did moisture gather in the hurt and sightless eye.

8. (p.255) عمرها این محیطِ فتنه خروش — همچو آئینه داشت موجِ خموش

For years together, this turbulent ocean was as still and motionless as the lusture (lit. waves) of a mirror.

9. (p.259) پای تدبیر بر سرِ خرمن — لیک یک سر چو گاوِ بسته دهن

He (the farmer) is always busy working in the field like a tongue-tied bull.

10. (p.281) زیرِ بالست آشیانهٔ ما — چون کمان در خود است خانهٔ ما

Our nest is under our wings. We have our house in ourselves like the bow which has its house (notch) within itself.

11. (p.301) سعی هر چند می کشود قدم — مژه میخورد چون دو تیغ بهم

Although he was trying hard - - - - - - - , the eye-lashes struck one over another just like two swords, which clash together.

12. (p.310) بستانت چو طاقتِ مردان — به بلندی چو همتِ فردان

In solidity and strength, the mountain was like the strength of brave men and in height it was as lofty as the ambition and high-mindedness of matchless being (mystics or Ṣufis).

13. (p.396) در بغل دارد این گل نیرنگ ـ چون نسیم بهار عالم رنگ

This magic flower holds under its arm, a world of colour as the vernal breeze carries freshness on it.

14. (p.415) بود آن شکل تیرگی تمثال ـ چون بلای سیاه در دنبال

That dark figure was chasing him like a black devil.

15. (p.423) ناز غلطان بهر طرف می رفت ـ همچو موج گهر ز کف می رفت

Her (Rājvanti's) charm was felt by all about her. Just like the brilliance or lusture of a pearl placed on the palm of the hand, she walked gracefully.

16. (p.443) رونق ملک از طرف سازی ـ همچو گلشن بجوشش گلبازی

On account of merry-making and rejoicings the charm and beauty of his kingdom were just like a garden flooded with flowers (in spring).

17. (p.443) از تسلسل چو سبحه سر بقدم ـ می دویدند جامها پی هم

Cups were passed round continuously like the beads of a rosary.

18. (p.478) بسکه چسپیده بی غذا برهم ـ رفته چون سایه فرق پشت و شکم

Due to starvation the poor fellow had shrunk and the distinction between his back and belly had vanished like a shadow.

19. (p.483) زیرِ موگم شُد از ہجومِ خراش ـ سرِ مردان چو خامۂ نقاش

Due to cuts and scratches the heads of warriors got lost under hair like the brush of a painter.

20. (p.484) از زرہ می پرید بی اہمال ـ ہمچو کندن چو آرد از غربال

(Flesh) was constantly flying in the air through the armour as flour falls through the sieve while being sifted.

21. (p.524) کردش آخر سپہر پاس رواج ـ چون مہ نو ہمان شب محتاج

Thin and needy like the new moon was he made by the callous sky and he pined for the full roti (round bread like the full moon) to stay his hunger that night.

22. (p.532) میشدی بیگمان معاینہ اش ـ ہمچو تمثال پیش آئینہ اش

(That drawing on the ground) could be seen by him as clearly as his own image in the mirror.

23. (p.537) ہمچو مژگان ابشرم میجوشید ـ تا بصد چاک چشم می پوشید

The poor naked fellow was very much upset due to shame and was closing his eyes, and he seemed like the naked, discrete eye-lashes which try to hide their hundred and one interstices.

24. (p.551) در دو دشت از طرب نومید ـ ہمچو ابرِ سیاہ می گردید

In utter despair, he was wandering in the jungle like a dark cloud.

25. (p.589) روز وشب همچو چشم خوابیده ـ گاه باز است وگاه پوشیده

Day and night, like drowsy eyes, are sometimes open and sometimes shut.

26. (p.594) همچو موری ضعیف بی پر و بال ـ رستنم زین محیط بود محال

Like a weak and feeble ant without wings and feathers as I was, I found my escape from this ocean impossible.

27. (p.614) کای بحیرانی آرمیده برآ ـ همچو اشک این زمان ز دیده برآ

O You, resting in bewilderment come out of it. Come out now like the tear from the hot eyes.

28. (p.255) بود هر قطره فارغ از کم و بیش ـ چون نگه سیر چشم قسمت خویش

Every drop (of water) was very safe and secure. It was satisfied and contented with its lot like a diamond.

29. (p.251) بی نیازان ساز عجز بچنگ ـ چون بهشت از نظر نهان همه رنگ

Independent people holding the harp of humbleness and modesty in their hands are hidden away from our eyes, just like the paradise with all its colour and charm.

30. (p.453) همچو پرکار ناکشوده قدم ـ کرده پاها بیکدگر تو اَم

His feet were set together each other like a closed pair of compasses.

31. (p.463) میروی چون نگه ز چشم ترم ـ بی نگه بعد ازین کرا نگرم

You are parting from me like sight from my weeping eyes. (One cannot see properly through tearful eyes). Whom should I, deprived of my sight, look at now?

METAPHORS: استعاره

1. (p.2) فطرتش در تموّجِ احوال - خیلِ طاؤسِ مرغزارِ خیال

His (Man's) nature in its caprices is a flight of peacocks in the meadow of imagination.

2. (p.8) او بهار است و این جهان رنگش - اوست قانون و جمله آهنگش

He (Man) is the Spring and all the rest (of the world) is his colour. He is the Law and all other things are its procedure.

3. (p.38) شمعِ این محفل و لیک چه سود - آتش افتاده در بنای وجود

You are the candle of this assembly but what is the use of it, since your very existence is a fire.

4. (p.73) از بروج و ثوابتِ محسوس - دهر زد غوطه در پرِ طاؤس

From the signs of the zodiac and the perceptible stars, the world dived into the feathers of the peacock (i.e. the blue sky. Here sky is compared to the feathers of a peacock).

5. (p.107) دلِ افسرده اخگریست آنجا - پایِ خوابیده شهپریست اینجا

The congealed heart becomes a live coal there (in Heaven) and the benumbed foot, the longest feather in a wing (i.e. a means to move or fly swiftly).

6. (p.152) بود بی کلفتی و اندوهی - گل خودروی دامن کوهی

He (the gnostic), free from worries and sorrows was a wild flower growing on the foot of a mountain.

7. (p.162) ابر بر فرق خاک بال هماست. چرم خورشید را وبال ضیاست

The cloud over the head of the earth is a wing of the phoenix (is a blessing for the earth), but it is a calamity for the light of the sun.

8. (p.193) غم عمر گذشته خوردن چند - نقد گم کرده را شمردن چند

How long will you feel sorry for the life which has passed? How long will you go on counting the cash which is lost ?

9. (p.207) دخمه است این بساط گرد و غبار. من و تو جمله نقش لوح مزار

This carpet of dust (the earth) is a tower of silence and you and I all are the inscription on the tomb-stone.

10. (p.214) همه گلهای این گلستانیم - خط اسرار یک دبستانیم

We all are the flowers of this garden. We are the mysterious writing of one and the same school.

11. (p.219) آفتاب است هر که زر دارد - قطره دریاست گر گهر دارد

He who possesses gold is the sun, and the drop which is a potential pearl is an ocean by itself.

12. (p.249) دہر مرآتِ شاہدِ غیبست ۔ لوحِ تمثالِ حسنِ لاریب است

The world is the mirror for the Invisible Beloved (i.e. God). It is a tablet with the portrait of the Beauty which is beyond doubt.

13. (p.274) اُلفت آئینہ ایست کز ہر سُو ۔ گشتہ خلقی بطوفِ او یکرُو

Love is a mirror to which people flock from all directions just to have a look (at their reflection).

14. (p.279) با ہمہ صُلح جنگہا دارد ۔ دِل بہاراست رنگہا دارد

Though it may seem to be at peace, the heart is waging wars. It is the Spring and possesses (variegated) colours like the Spring.

15. (p.402) شامہ را بی حجاب فہمیدن ۔ یوسف از بوی پیرہن دیدن

To understand the olfactory sense without a veil (clearly) is to observe Joseph through the smell of his garment.

طرد و عکس (Tarad—o— 'Aks): Allusion:

When the poet reverses the two halves of the first hemistich to form the second one, the verse is said to illustrate the figure عکس . It is also called تبدیل interchange:

چشم اینجا بفهم گوش رسید ـ گوش اینجا رموز چشم شنید

حسن تعلیل POETICAL AETIOLOGY:

When in poetry some poetical (not the true) reason is assigned for a fact it is called حسن تعلیل

Examples:

عشق محتاج گشت آدم شد ـ جمع شد احتیاج و عالم شد (p.213)

It was love gone bankrupt which assumed the form of man; and it was accumulated need which became the world.

فی الحقیقت بهر کجا کوهی است ـ یادگار مزار انبوهی است (p.322)

In fact, wherever there is a mountain, it is a tomb in memory of a multitude of people.

اینکه از ضعف سر بزانویم ـ زیر پا عمر رفته می جویم (p.506)

The fact that I have placed my head on my knees due to weakness really means that I am searching the past life lying under my feet. (Said with reference to an old man sitting with his head resting on his knees).

طفل راچون امید زیستن است اوّلین پیشه اش گریستن است (p.263)

The first thing a child starts doing is to weep, since it hopes to live.

مُهر عُریان تنی بر گیرد - تا فضای جهان بر گیرد (p.263)

In order to make the expense of the world golden, the Sun sheds his splendour and becomes naked (i.e. becomes poor).

زخم گُل را رَفُو بُود مُشکل - زانکه تیغش دمیده است ز دل (p.271)

It is difficult to mend with stitches the wounds of the rose, because a sword grows from its very heart.

اشتقاق ETYMOLOGY:-

When two or more words that have been derived from the same root are introduced into a sentence, they are said to illustrate the figure اشتقاق.

Examples:

محرم حق زخود خبر دارد - ناظر او بخود نظر دارد (p.622)

شخص مظروف بود تالیِ ظرف همچو معنی رهینِ صورتِ حرف (p.533)

جادهٔ مردِ ره مجاهده است جهد چون ختم شد مشاهده است (p.618)

شبه اشتقاق PSEUDO - ETYMOLOGY:

In this case the words merely appear to have been derived from the same root, but in reality they are not.

Examples:

صبر مفتاح مخزن راز است ـ گر همه عاجزیست اعجاز است (p.106)

بیخودی نیز بیخیالی نیست ـ نیستی خاکی از کمالی نیست (p.160)

علم علم پا بگل نگذاشته ـ عالمی را بدوش خود برداشت (p.392)

سر موئی اگر رسد بشکست ـ بر صدا غیر سر تسلیم نتوان بست (p.406)

در عیوب از قبول پنهان دل یافت ـ صبح اقبال در مقابل یافت (p.430)

ذوقافیتین DOUBLE RHYME :

This figure denotes that there is a double rhyme in the verse.

Examples

هر چه در دیده تخم پستی کاشت ـ سایه بر سر از بلندی داشت (p.78)

علم هر جا کفیل تدبیر است ـ غالبیت دلیل تأثیر است (p.80)

از یک آن چشمه جهات انهار ـ از یک آن تخم کائنات اشجار (p.102)

سینه گر برگل و سمن مالد ـ بوی یوسف به پیرهن مالد (p.193)

همه آیات قدرت آثار ـ جمله آثار حیرت ابصار (p.95)

سوال وجواب CATECHISM:

It is very simple figure containing 'Question and answer'.

Examples:

چیست دامن؟ غبارِ روی دوست ـ چیست مژگان؟ حجابِ آنچه توئی (p.11)

تربیت چیست؟ خاک زر کردن ـ قطرهٔ آب را گهر کردن (p.76)

چیست حیرت؟ جهانِ نعت دانه ـ که عیان گشت از سرادقِ راز (p.70)

چیست علم؟ اصلِ مدرکات بیچون ـ نظمِ جمعیتِ ظهور و بطون (p.80)

عاشقی چیست؟ داغِ محرومی ـ گلِ خودروی داغِ محرومی (p.225)

ترصیع (lit. 'to Jewel'):

When the words of two or more successive clauses or hemistiches correspond, each to each, (in order) in point of measure and rhyme, the figure is termed

جلوه ها را سراغ پیدائی ـ دیده ها را چراغ بینائی (p.34)

نگس آنجا که تند میریزند ـ نگه آنجا که رنگ می بیزند (p.254)

همه سرمایهٔ جمال و جلال ـ همه پیرایهٔ ظهورِ کمال (p.377)

پانهد دوشِ عقل جادهٔ دوست ـ دم زند حکمِ عقل زادهٔ اوست (p.605)

محرمِ حق ز خود خبر دارد ـ ناظرِ او بخود نظر دارد (p.622)

THE PROPOSITION OF MULTIPLES: سیاق الاعداد

When some numerals are introduced into a line, they constitute the figure of speech called سیاق الاعداد

Examples:

آتش وصد هزار شعله طپش ـ با دو صد موج پیچ و تاب روش (p.32)

از سه نه بیست و هفت گیرم ـ دو و هفتاد آن نه بیش و نه کم (p.92)

دخل یک حبه فی و خرج هزار ـ مایه قیراط و آرزو قنطار (p.524)

چون ز ده بگذرد و نه خیزد ـ وز نه باز بر یکی ریزد (p.91)

THE ADJECTIVAL PROBLEM: تنسیق الصفات

When a poet goes on heaping praises (or abuses) in succession or uses various adjectives to denote a thing, we call it تنسیق الصفات

Examples:

داشت معشوقه ستمگاری ـ خودسری، شوخ، عاشق آزاری (p.266)

نوبهاریست شش جهت گلخیز ـ از هجوم اثر نشاط انگیز (p.282)

چون سمیع و بصیر و حی و علیم ـ جوهر قدرت ـ و مرید و کلیم (p.374)

قطار البعیرین (Lit. two camels tied together with a string). It is a figure in which the last word of the first hemistich is the first word of the second hemistich.

Examples:

خانه‌ات آشیانِ ذوقِ سفر ـ سفرت را همان بجانه نظر کن (p.17)

دی و امروز سوخت فردا رفت ـ رفت جائی که باید آنجا رفت (p.157)

تا نخندد دسری زصوبه‌ی لا ـ پا زسر نشکند کلاهِ هوا (p.345)

ای که صید فریبِ آب و گلی ـ آب و گل نیست در کنید دلی (p.278)

بیخودی نیز بیخیالی نیست ـ نیستی خالی از کمالی نیست (p.160)

مبالغه Hyperbole:

کیستم کز خودم شعوری نیست ـ آفتابم بجیب و نوری نیست (p.149)

Who am I as I am not conscious of my own self? I have the sun inside my collar, yet I lack light.

شبنمی گر بجهد می تازد ـ اشک را آفتاب می سازد (p.196)

If the dew strives hard, it can turn a tear into the sun.

جگرت از چه شعله دارد تاب ـ که جهان را گرفت بوی کباب (p.231)

Which flame has set fire to your heart that the smell of roasting meat has spread throughout the world ?

دانه اینجا بخرمنی مثل است ـ نقطه یک کتاب در بغل است (p.246)

Here a grain is as good as a harvest and a single dot holds an entire volume under its arm.

هر کجا بزم نغمه می آراست ـــ زنده می مرد و مرده برمیخاست (p.444)

Wherever he organised a musical assembly, the living people died and the dead were brought back to life.

چشم مست از اشارهٔ ابرو ـ زد صلا بر هزار دشت آهو (p.455)

A single glance from her bewitching eyes challenged the deer of a thousand forests to a contest (i.e. to prove which was superior ; her glance or those of the deer).

ناله میکرد با هزار اندوه ـ بحوالی که آب می شد کوه (p.503)

He was lamenting so pathetically that even a mountain melted by his cry.

بر جبین خاکِ بیخودی مالید ـ نعره زد که آسمان نالید (p.600)

He applied the dust of unconsciousness to his forehead and cried so loudly that even the sky began to cry.

تلمیح (Talmih) : Allusion :

When a poet introduces a word that refers to some popular story or classical reference, the figure of speech is called تلمیح.

Examples:

از شبانی چرا عار داشت کلیم ـ و ز عمارت چه رخنت ابراهیم (p.201)

بهر تحصیل عبرتست تمام ـ یاس و امید قیس و ابن سلام (p.229)

جوشش فرعون و شوخی نمرود ـ هر طرف بال اقتدار کشود (p.258)

خلق فرهاد بی ستون زدست ـ جانکنی تیشهٔ جنون زدست (p.496)

تخت بلقیس کز سبا آمد ـ کجا بود و در کجا آمد (p.537)

سهمت کار هوائیان نکند ـ حرف آبحیات و اسکندر (p.609)

کرده موسی ز تین فطرت ـ طورِ دیگر مسخرِ تدرت (p.154)

جلوه مجنون حسن لیلایش ـ شرم صد پرده محمل آرایش (p.222)

تجرید : (Lit. separating one thing from another): When a poet thinks of and addresses himself as if he were a separate person, in Maqṭa'(مقطع) or in a couplet, the figure of speech is called تجرید:

زین تماشا عنان نگردانی ـ بیدل آخر تو نیز انسانی (p. 7)

تکرار لفظی (repetition of words):

بند بندش نقاب راز کشود ـ مو بمویش زبان ناز کشود (p.125)

تو سخن، من سخن، زمانه سخن ـ همه را علت و بهانه سخن (p.132)

گوش کن گوش نغمه بار کیست ـ چشم شو چشم جلوه نزد کیست (p.67)

چه مهندس، چه فلسفی، چه طبیب ـ دارد از فیض او برات نصیب (p.80)

گوش شو گوش تا درین کهسار ـ نالهٔ رهی کشاید از اسرار (p.153)

بند بندش مراتب تشویش ـ عضو عضو آشیان زحمت نیش (p.297)

حق و قیوم نیست جز الله ـ فهم کن فهم دردِ سر کوتاه (p.407)

تضاد **Antithesis** :

The word antithesis has been used to stand for *opposites*.

Examples:

(p. 1) ظاهرو باطنش حدوث و قدم - صورت و معنیش وجود و عدم

(p. 35) در خوشی هجوم فریادیم - بفراموشی اینقدر یادیم کو

(p.276) طور مستیت لغزشش هشیار - مست را کسب هوش رنگ خمار

(p.502) کرد موی سیه بجهد سپید - شب سحر گشت و صبح او نومید

(p.501) خشک و تر ساز ترجمان می شد - رمز خار و گلش عیان می شد

(p. 35) آمد و رفت خلق نیرنگست - جزر و مد محیط بیرنگست کو

(p.444) هر کجا بزم نغمه می آراست - زنده می مرد و مرده برمیخاست

So, 'antithesis' can chiefly be of nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

مراعات النظیر **Congruity:**

When things that are naturally associated together as خار و گل، چمن etc. are introduced into a sentence, the figure of speech is known as congruity. It is also called تناسب (association of similar objects).

Examples:

(p. 26) بسکه وهم تو رنگ پیدا کرد - آئینه عکس و رنگ پیدا کرد

(p.71) صحن و دیوار اگر نه چهره کشست - سقف آئینه خیال هواست

چرخ واختر لعبا لم تغیر - شعله و دود این شرر کده گیر (p. 95)

حسن امروز موج زد بنگاه - سرخ و زرد و سفید و سبز و سیاه (p.106)

گرد آشفته رهزن نظر است - کاروان محو و جاده در سفر است (p.142)

لف و نشر :

لف means to envelope and نشر means 'to unfold'

When, in a sentence, are mentioned two series of two or more objects or attributes separately, and it is left to the discernment of the reader to connect them properly, the figure of speech is called لف و نشر .

Examples:

سنبل ایجاد کرد و لاله دمید - داغ شد کان و این بکاه تنید (p.411)

قدرت بی نیاز کن معلوم ست - زآه مظلوم و نالهٔ مرحوم ست

آن یکی کوه را ز پا انداخت - این دگر سنگ را چو موم گداخت (p.335)

تجاهل عارف : feigning ignorance.

When a poet relates something with which he is fully acquainted, but pretends ignorance of it, it is called تجاهل عارف This is deliberately done by the poet to create in the hearers some strong feelings of enthusiasm or rapt attention.

Examples:

تا جوان این حدیث بر لب راند - مست خواب عدم سر بر گرداند

مردهٔ یاس شد نفس تکرار - بنشاط هزار صبح بهار ست

کاین تماشا بخواب می‌شنوم - یا بشب آفتاب می‌شنوم (p.507)

(When that youth told this thing, the dying old man just opened his eyes most cheerfully and exclaimed: "Am I noticing this sight in sleep or am I seeing the Sun at midnight ?

طنز و ظرافت : (humourous Epigram)

بلبلی کز چمن فرح ناک است - چغد ازو به که عاشق خاک است (p.178)

(An owl which loves dust is far better than a nightingale which is pleased with the garden).

حرکات خواص و جهد عوام - نیست جز رقص اشتر و لب بام (p.276)

(The movement and the activities of the high and the low are nothing but a camel's dance on the terrace).

دم مگس ران رنج پشت و کمر - ناخن پاکفیل خارش سر (p.412)

(The tail drives away flies from the back and side of an animal and its hoof serves it for scratching the head).

مرد کو تا فرو تنی نکند - چه کند زن اگر زنی نکند (p.535)

(Where is the man who does not surrender and where is the woman who does not behave like a woman ?)

تنافر صوتی : (harshness) :

Examples:-

جوشش احتشام قدرت آثارش ـ همچو سیاره محو انوارش که (p.545)

دردِ آن قوم داشت در همه حال ـ همچو آوازِ کوشش استقبال (p.325)

دلِ افسرده اخگر است آنجا ـ پای خوابیده شهپر است اینجا (p.107)

خاک کاشانه دارِ زشت و نکوست ـ زیر پا چیست تاجِ سر هم اوست (p.139)

STORIES AND ANECDOTES FROM THE 'IRFĀN:

Commenting on the Maqnawi of Maulānā Rumī, Niyāz Fatehpuri writes in one of his letters:-

"It is an old practice to impart a moral lesson by means of stories and parables and it is found in the literature of each and every nation of the world. But the books which present stories as real facts are in my opinion very harmful... ..... . As you see all the stories mentioned in the Maqnawi have gained historical significance not only in the eyes of the masses but also the learned, and cultured society. Thus this poetical way of presentation makes us uncritical in point of separating fact from fiction. . . . . .

"As you might have seen that the anecdotes and traditions quoted or cited in the Maqnawi of Maulānā Rumī have little connection with facts and have been invented by the poet. And it was inevitable that it should be so, since the ignorant people would not get the narrator's point, or the truth he wished to communicate, unless it was presented to them in the legendary fashion. But then the question arises: 'Is mere interest something more important than the instruction itself ? ' However, I for one, hold that it is entirely 'destructive literature' and its study cannot be of any advantage in any case . .....

"If you want to see the perfect fusion of language and thought, you may read the stories, Bedil has narrated in his Maṯnawis."[1]

Niyāz has incidentally expressed his views on Bedil's Maṯnawi-writing, specially the anecdotes in his Maṯnawi, when he says that the language and thought have reached their perfection in Bedil's stories mentioned in the Maṯnawis. However, the advantage of the anecdotal method cannot be denied. Really Bedil's stories sharpen the intellect and the mind of the reader and make them more illumined, brighter and capable of understanding subtleties - - - - - - - - - - - mystical or otherwise. They divert the human mind from wordly activities and lead it to spirituality and mystical contemplation. Bedil has narrated the tales in the most standard and successful manner. Their only drawback, although it is a minor one, is that the ordinary reader not conversant with the phraseology of Bedil, sometimes finds it difficult to follow them thoroughly It may also be due to the didactic or spiritual observations in which Bedil often indulges, while narrating an anecdote. In fine the 'Irfān' along with its didactic, mystical, romantic and poetic aspects contains stories based on practical wisdom and legends of Romance. In all these Bedil is throughout present as kind and affectionate counseller, adviser and moralist imparting mystical lessons in a very effective and appealing way. At the end of each and every story he goes on harping on the mystical subtleties. These stories go a long way to prove

1. Hairat Zāʾ, pp. 39-41.

the 'Irfān (Spiritual Instruction) worthy of its title. Moreover in the 'Irfān Bedil has displayed the amazing range of the flight of his imagination, and his skill and genius as a great allegorist.

Let us now take a critical view of Bedil's stories:-

Bedil is not merely a good raconteur but an excellent adviser and counsellor too. In the parables and stories he narrates, Bedil finds a suitable place for moral teaching, discussion of social problems or observations on human life. The 'Irfān contains moral advice and also rendering of mystical experiences. It comprises dialogues, short and long stories and parables. Bedil picks up an ordinary incident from every-day life and leads to a moral lesson from it. For example, the very first story runs thus:

A piece of bread in the hand of a child sitting on the side of a well falls into it. The child begins to cry. The father rushes towards the child. The child points at the well. The father peeps into the well and sees his own image in the water, and mistakes it for the devil. Thereupon the water scolds him saying, "O foolish fellow, you are under a wrong impression. This is merely a projection of your own thought or imagination. Otherwise there is nothing else.

Here Bedil indirectly mentions his philosophy of good and evil which is also reflected in the following words of Dr. Iqbal:

چه گویم نکتهٔ زشت و نکو چیست
زبان لرزد که معنی پیچ در پیچ است
برون از شاخ بینی خار و گل را
درونِ او نه گل پیدا نه خار است

("How should I express the problem of good and evil ? The tongue flatters as it involves complications. Thou canst only conceive the thorn and the flower outside the bough. But the flower and thorn, do not exist within it."[1])

Another story runs thus:

Heeding the advice of a wise man, a fool residing on the upper storey of a building comes down to stay on the ground-floor for fear of losing his life and the moralist in Bedil comes out with the advice:

فہمِ ناقص دلیلِ نقصان است

(A defective mind is dangerous). Bedil gently hints that the idealist should not give up his idealism because ordinary men do not like it.

Similarly Bedil relates a fable:

A crow steals an apple from an orchard. The owner notes the crow carrying the apple away, and chases it, but

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1. Iqbal and His Message, p.124.

ultimately falls into a well and dies. Here the moral drawn is that one should resign to the will of God and be contented with one's lot.

Out of the dialogues the following ones are beautiful and worth a mention:-

1) A gnostic explains the meaning of modesty to a person who wants to know.

2) The dialogue between Ibrāhim and Khizr.

3) That between a (wise) man and the fool who throws dust at the sky and as a result besmears his own head.

There are also a few humorous anecdotes in the 'Irfān:

A cunning and greedy cat, when asked as to why it was lying in ambush in a jungle, replies to the questioner thus: "Excuse me, Sir, the reason is that the rats in the vicinity are very weak and helpless. I am here to protect them against vultures". And Bedil says that in this world every one looks after his own interests. Due to sheer greed only do people resort to such lame excuses.

Another equally interesting humorous anecdote is that about a disappointed lover who approaches his spiritual master to learn a charm to win the heart of his beloved. The clever master does teach a powerful and effective charm but lays down the condition that the lover should never think of a monkey;

otherwise the charm would lose its effect. Outraged at this the lover bawls at the teacher, "O what a fool you are! Until now I had not the faintest idea of a monkey in my mind. But now since you happened to mention it, wherever I look, I see nothing but monkeys dancing before my eyes". From this Bedil concludes that it is very difficult to dispel anxiety from the mind of anybody.

In another romantic tale which Bedil tells, he points to the truth that poverty and love never go together. A poor man's desire to succeed in love exactly resembles the earth's demand for the stars from the sky, or the fly's wish for the strong swift wings of an angel. If wishes were horses beggers would ride appropriately fits the case.

True and intense love can even bring the dead back to life. Bedil seeks to impress this upon the reader's mind through the story[1] of the dancegirl Kām Dee and the singer Madan:-

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1. A news item under the caption 'Joint Indo-Soviet Film venture' had appeared in the Indian Express dated 10-7-1959 in which it was announced that a film based on this story will be made both in Hindi and Urdu:

"- - - - - The two film concerns (of Bombay and Tashkent) propose to produce jointly a film entitled "A Poem of two Hearts", based on a story by the well-known seventeenth century Urdu (sic) poet, Mirza Bedil, about the love of a Uzbek youth and an Indian dancegirl. The film will be made both in India and Russian."
(The Daily Indian Express of 10th July 1959).
But whether the film was made or not is not known to this writer.

حکمتِ تام ز اتفاقِ وداد - عضو ہاشان بہم معانقہ داد
ساعتی چند ناگذشتہ بہم - ہستی آمد لبطوفِ شان زعدم
تا گل از باغِ آگہی چیدند - خویش را در کنارِ ہم دیدند
گل دمیدند یا بہار شدند - کس چہ داند چہ آشکار شدند
(عرفان ص ۴۹۳)

But the purpose of the story according to Bedil, is merely to describe the prosperity of Kings.

Out of hundreds of stories relating to Sati Bedil selects that of Rājwanti, a minor daughter of a rich man from Bihar. On the sudden death of her husband Rājwanti retires to her chamber and first burns her fingers by holding her hand over the flame of the candle and ultimately burns herself to death and all efforts to rescue her prove of no avail.

Bedil tells us that it is the general belief of the Hindus that a woman can enjoy salvation by burning herself alive with her husband.

In the 'Irfān there are two stories dealing with the theory of Rebirth:

One relates to a man who dies with his debt unpaid and is transformed into a crow in which form he had to drink the water, his creditor has used for ablution and so, is dirty. And the other story relates to a Brahmin who, after a dip into

the river, finds himself reborn as the son of a childless couple who are sweepers by caste. He grows up there, is married to a girl of that community and gets some issues also. But as luck would have it, he loses his wife and in despair he renounces the world and finds his way to a jungle. There he meets a number of people who take him to the capital and crown him their king as they have lost their king and there is no heir to the throne. After some time, the king goes to the river all alone for a bath early in the morning. There a messenger, a member of his community (of sweepers) greets him and conveys the news of the plight of his children. Meanwhile his attendants, too, arrive there and discover that their new king belongs to a low community.

The news spreads fast throughout the capital. The Brahmins and Pundits kindle a big fire and burn themselves to death as soon as they learn this. The king too wants to burn himself but, to his surprise, he is as though awakened from sleep and finds himself in the river and his clothes lying on the bank. Utterly perplexed and confused he returns home. One day while standing in the doorway of his house he sees some Brahmins hurrying past his house. He invites them to dinner, but they decline the invitation and say that they had unknowingly crowned a sweeper and accepted him as their king because their hereditary king had died without an heir. They narrate the same tale which had befallen this Brahmin:

چشم اگر وا شود خیال کجاست ـ خواب در ملک ذوالجلال کجاست؟
در زمانی که عقل شد بیدار ـ منعدم گیر این و آن یکبار
همچنان کز تو بر فشان رفت ـ چون تو بیدار گشتی آنهم رفت
چشم آن طالب حقیقت دید ـ زین تماشا بفهم خواب رسید
آخر آن بیقرار شوریده ـ گرد سیر جهان خوابیده
(عرفان ص ۵۹)

According to the Hindus, transmigration of the soul is a possibility; so is rebirth. It may assume the form of a bird, animal or man. All this depends on his or her acts and deeds in this world.

In a story on 'alchemy' an old man acquires knowledge of alchemy though it costs him his life and a youth who fulfils the conditions laid down by the old man is benefited by the old man's sacrifice, while in another story a merchant in pursuit of knowledge of 'alchemy' is reduced to utter poverty. The pathos is intensified when the poor fellow sees a heap of charcoal, and being quite poor, has to ask his friends to help him just to buy a basketful of coal; since he is on verge of discovering the secret of 'alchemy'.

Some anecdotes simply narrate how a poor man becomes rich and vice versa through the force of magic and charms. These stories are based on Simyā (Natural magic).

Man's imagination is very powerful and mighty. A rustic wants to join the circle of disciples of a spiritual teacher (Shaikh) who by way of test asks him to enter a room and sit there constantly thinking all the while about the buffalo he likes very much.

The poor fellow quietly obeys the Shaikh. When an invisible angel asks him to come out of that room, he says, "Excuse me, these room-breaking horns have, as it were, tied a rope, round my neck and I, with such a bulky body, find it very difficult to come out through this small door." (The suggestion is that through the force of concentration, the man was transformed into a buffalo).

In an anecdote, Bedil tells us that a Jew was sitting among the Prophet's followers and listening to his discourse. The Jew happened to deny the ascent of the Prophet to Heaven. After a while the Jew went to a river to take a bath. The Jew took a dip, and was transformed into a woman. He was married and gave birth to seven children. He went to the river to wash clothes, took a dip in the river and was transformed into a Jew again. He went to meet the Prophet Muhammad. The Jew was surprised to see the washerman approaching the Prophet with his seven children and complaining of his misfortune. He said he had lost his wife recently.

The Jew, out of 'motherly love' for the children offered himself as a care-taker of those children. The Jew learned a lesson and embraced Islam.

A similar anecdote is narrated by Amir Khusrau in his Āina-e- Sikandari, but his hero is an ill-natured, stupid profligate.[1]

To put it in a nutshell, the stories told in the 'Irfān are in no way inferior to those in any other remarkable Masnawi in Persian. Bedil often invents new construction of words and uses graceful similes and metaphors and considers it a pleasure. Indian life, especially the customs and beliefs of the Hindus are depicted most artistically in the 'Irfān and the characters, in the stories are mostly Indian.

These stories contain some obscene or vulgar descriptions (See pp. 241, 593 & 595 of the MS.), but in view of Bedil's stature as a great artist, drawbacks like this may be overlooked.

The stories or anecdotes or dialogues deal with some spiritual problem or moral qualities and virtues and are mostly based on Alchemy, Simyā and Rimyā.[2]

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1. Āina-e- Sikandari, pp.30-2.
2. Alchemy: the science of changing a base metal like copper into gold.
   Simyā: The science which enables man to transform a soul from one body into another, and by means of which its practitioner shows people visions which really do not exist.
   Rimyā: The science by means of which man travels to any place he wants, the factors of time and space do not obstruct him at all.
   Maulānā Rumi says:- کیمیا و سیمیا و ریمیا - کس نداند جز بذات اولیا

CHAPTER VIII

IQBAL'S STYLE

Every skilled and perfect poet has a way or manner of expression with which he gives vent to his feelings, thoughts and ideas. Art means expression of emotions and sentiments of the heart and therefore Art requires a special mode of expression. Shaikh Akbar 'Ali says:-

"Broadly speaking, the art of a poet has two aspects — form and matter. The chief thing is, no doubt, the material, composed of the object and the spirit of experience; but the mould in which the poet casts it has also an importance of its own. The latter is the cup in which the poet offers the wine of his genius ..... In popular language this form is called the style. No doubt, the material is the main thing, but the casement in which it is set also affects the charm of the thought. If the casement fits the thought, the transference of the poet's conception to our mind is complete."[1] 'Ibādat Bareillvi[2] also says, "And according to Flaubert, style is the man, i.e., every writer's way of looking at or thinking about things means style. In other words, every writer must have his own

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1. Iqbāl and His Message, p.55.
2. Tanqidi Tajrube, pp. 50-52.

special style. Every writer observes things and muses over them and then presents impressions in a special fashion; his impressions about those things are communicated in his special way in which are mirrored his personality and mood. His bent of mind provides a special mould for the style. His special inclinations form his style and his mode of thinking gives it a peculiar, individual, tone and cadence. That is why every writer's personality is reflected in his writings and every sentence, every phrase and every word bear his stamp. And thus, his polished and chaste thoughts are expressed in a pure and chiselled manner. Since style is nothing but expression, its lucidity and polish are the outcome of purity of thought and theme, and clarity of the thoughts of the writer."

Bedil's style contains in their most developed form all those qualities which are essential for good poetry. But so far as artificial and traditional rules are concerned, Bedil does not seem bound by them. His originality and forceful genius set aside all traditions and formal rules and regulations regarding good art and rush forward like a powerful flood. He observes:-

اصل معنی است کز تقاضایش - لفظ می بالد و ادا هایش

(Really speaking, it is the meaning (thought) which, of its own accord, finds proper words and style for its expression).

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1. Nuskha-e-'Irfān (MS.), p.246.

Each and every word of the couplet quoted above explains to us what Bedil means by style. Bedil chiefly expressed in poetry the emotions, feelings, sentiments and thoughts which he had gleaned by way of experience of every-day life or to put it in another way, which he had gained by observing minutely the various aspects of human life. As such, his record of his observation of life or experience of it is fresh and original. Therefore his style, too, overflows with freshness and sweetness of language.

It is necessary to mention here that 'freshness of expression' does not always demand a quite new and original idea. On the other hand, if the poet expresses thoughts and ideas which have developed to the extent of assuming the form of definite emotions and feelings in his heart, then his art is bound to have freshness and originality. As we already know, Bedil had studied the philosophy of the Muslim Sufis, mystics and several other thinkers and, according to Dr. A. Ghani, Bedil did not contribute or add anything new to the fundamental and basic thoughts of these mystics and philosophers.[1] This is a debatable point. It may be that Bedil did not develop a separate system of philosophy like Kant, or the Buddha, or found a separate

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1. Iqbāl, Lahore, Quarterly, April 1958, p.73.

school of thought. But, it must be remembered that he did not set out to be a professional philosopher. He was, rather, a poet who tried to experience what the ancient philosophers had said could be experienced by the faithful devotee of the Lord. He has tried to give verbal expression to the Truth as he was able to see it. Thus Bedil was, first a poet and then a philosopher, his philosophy being the outcome of personal, mystical experience and not mere intellectual gymnastics. But this is not the place to discuss the point.

Of Bedil's poetic style, Niyāz Fatehpuri says:- "Bedil was not a poet of the language but that of imagination. He was not primarily concerned with the niceties of linguistic expression or formal rules of art. On the other hand, his imagination provided him with a suitable language which was sublime and very subtle".[1]

In another place, Niyāz Fatehpuri observes, 'Mirzā (Bedil) had command over Persian, and its subtleties, and delicacy and flight of imagination constituted the main qualities of his style. He entirely changed the style of Persian prose and poetry and adopted such a style as was not in vogue in Persian before this.[2] (i.e. he wrote his works).

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1. Nigār Monthly, Nov. 1956, P.23.
2. Majmu'a-e-Is'tifsār-o-Jawāb, Part 1,P.200.

Majnūn Gorakhpuri endorses Niyāz Fatehpuri's views and observes: "He (Bedil) is the originator of new phrases and styles — a fact which is acknowledged by all, although every word of Bedil was dismissed by people merely because in their opinion it was 'out of tune'. But nobody ever paid attention to the fact that leaving aside the invention of new phrases and metaphors, whenever Bedil uses a common-place and hackneyed word in his couplets, he imparts a new charm, force and meaning to that particular word by means of his inventive faculty and creative power of imagination. Using the magic wand of his imagination, Bedil infused new life into many ordinary words used hitherto by his predecessors. Words like 'bedil' and 'rang' may be cited here as examples:

رنگِ طاقت سوخت امّا وحشت آغازم ہنوز — چشم بر خاکسترِ بال است و پروازم ہنوز[2]

باغِ دہر از ماست بیدل روشناسِ رنگِ درد — لالہ سان آئینہ داغِ جگر داریم ما

گر نہ شاگردِ جنونست دلِ بیدلِ ما — ابجدِ چاکِ گریبان زکہ آموختہ است

In other words "Bedil possessed matchless and wonderful art of making the abstract concrete, and vice versa with the help of an ordinary word like 'rang' used in the couplet quoted above".[3]

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1. Pardesi-ke-Khutoot, Part II, pp.142.
2. Diwān-e-Bedil (Nawalkishore Edition), pp.266, 220&240.
3. Pardesi-ke-Khutoot, Part II, p.143.

Dr. 'Abdul Ghani compliments Bedil on his capacity to infuse depth of meaning into simple words in a passage which appears in Sāqi:

"Subtlety of thought is the outstanding characteristic of India and this is shared also by the Persian poets of India ..... Bedil, who was born after all these master-poets, benefited by this noble heritage. In delicacy of thought and originality of meaning Bedil enjoys such a high position that when he uses a word at a particular place he changes it into a treasure-house of meaning".[1]

'Abdul Ghani (namesake of Dr. 'Abdul Ghani whose opinion has been quoted above), the writer of 'A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Moghal Court', holds a view quite the reverse of Dr. Abdul Ghani's:

"The period that begins roughly from the middle of the reign of Aurangzeb until the first signs of deadlock in the relations between Persia and India, may be called the 'stagnation period'. The style of writing, as a whole, had not till then deviated far from the right path, though attempts were already begun to be made by certain writers to enter into frivolities of word and meaning".[2]

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1. Sāqi, Karachi, Feb. 1962, p.9.

2. A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Moghal Court, Part III, pp. 206-7.

And in the footnote to this quotation the author remarks:

"Cf, the writing of Ni'mat Khāni 'Āli, Bedil, Irādat Khān Wāsih, and others, who went to the length of making their text an entire show of word and phrase .... Bedil in his "Ruqqāt" has endeavoured to make his meaning obscure rather than clear, owing to the overdone rhetoric and floridity, and thus had defeated the very object of his work.[1]

"The indefinite variety of subjects and style as found in Bedil has no match in Persian or Urdu Literature... ..... There is no limit to Bedil's variety ..... He has command over the language to express any personal experience or emotion; but his style is so unique, uncommon and original that everybody cannot follow or understand it, and it is so because he views every incident, experience, and thing from quite a new angle and discovers hidden aspects and new things which cannot be expressed in the traditional and generally accepted style. Every couplet composed by him has a new cadence".[2]

Bedil is quite conversant with the relation that exists between thought and expression. He holds that form

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1. A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Moghal Court, Part III, pp.286-7.

2. Pardesi ke Khutoot, Part II, pp. 164, 180.

and matter go together or are inseparable like the colour and fragrance (of a rose):-

ز رمز صورت و معنی دل خود جمع کن بیدل
بهار ریخاست سامانش درون بوئی برون رنگی [1]

Bedil considers matter as lifeless if it lacks beauty of expression. He was most critical of his contemporary poets who aimed at freshness of expression alone, simply because their poetry lacks real or original thought although it is well-furnished with literary beauties. Hence it is devoid of spirit and life or force.

Bedil followed closely his theory of style all his life. He always uses apt metaphors and appropriate similes in accordance with the principle of his style. His metres are also natural and fittingly describe his emotions or a particular mood he had at the time of composing a particular couplet; for instance, the metre of the following couplet is indicative of the grief and sorrow Bedil experienced while writing it:

چیست این باغ و این شگفتنها ـ سر آبی و سیر روغن ها

In Bedil's poetry, form and matter develop together. Bedil's sincere and faithful style has given him such an

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1. Fulliyāte-Ṣafdari: Ghazaliyāt, p. 359.

exalted position in Persian poetry that poets of no mean order like Ghālib and Iqbāl pay their homage to him and call him a 'perfect master'.

Bedil's style has got its individual force and vigour. It is so because he had firm convictions and handled a noble theme. His manliness also played an important role in it. Bedil's origin, traditions of his family, his personal courage and boldness had made him extremely candid, outspoken and fearless. And these personal, moral qualities had influenced his style also. Moreover Bedil employed his knowledge of rhetorics to make his poetry forceful and appealing. He imitated Amir Khusrau and Ṣā'ib in the extensive use of analogy to illustrate his statement of the truth. To achieve this object he very often indulges in repetition of words.

For instance :—

معمّائی ، معمّائی ، معمّائی ۔ اگر خواہی کشودن چشم بکشا[1]

ہمیں نقشِ توئی گر برتراشی ۔ تو باشی و تو باشی و تو باشی[2]

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1. Ṭur-e-Ma'rifat, p.1.
2. Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat, p.17.

ازان شمعِ خورشید ساغر لگن - بمن ده، بمن ده، بمن ده، بمن[1]

گرفتارم، گرفتارم، گرفتار - نمی دانم نقشِ دامم است یا دل[2]

کای هوای تو برقِ آفتِ من - شورِ من، داغِ من، قیامتِ من[3]

One comes across many such couplets in his Kulliyāt.

It is a matter of great pride for Bedil that he[4] expresses the abstract thoughts of Ibnul-'Arabi and other great thinkers in the most elegant poetic manner. This was a great and novel experiment Bedil had performed in Persian literature. He has displayed extreme artistic talent and ingenuity in blending Ṣufistic and philosophical thoughts and beauty of expression together. In this respect Bedil enters the galaxy of those great poets of the world, who achieved eternal fame by expressing philosophical thoughts most gracefully in poetry.

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1. Diwān-e-Bedil: Muḥiṭ-e-A'ẓam, Maṭba-'e-Ḥasani, Bombay, p.40.
2. Diwān-e-Bedil, (Nawal Kishore Edition), p.276.
3. Mukha-e-ʿIrfān, (MS.) p. 464.
4. Safina-e-Khushgo, p.115, and 'Iqbāl', Lahore Quarterly, April, 1958, p.32.

In short, Bedil cherished a desire that his art should serve as a fit vehicle for his thoughts. Or, we may say that, according to him, the form (ہیئت) which suits his thought is the style.

Bedil had only one aim in life — he wanted, the revival of 'great humanity' in the world, and wished very much that his art should assist and serve him to achieve this noble object. This means that Bedil was a thinker who had risen above the petty distinctions that separate man from man, and wanted all men to be guided by the same humanistic principles. Every verse which flowed from his pen spoke of his sincerity of heart. That is why he used to call himself as 'The Praiser of Nature'.[1] He never eulogised the kings nor did he become an absolute worshipper of the Muse of Poetry. On the other hand, he used his great gift of expression and poetic genius for the good of mankind. He performed this noble task at a time when nobody ever thought of devoting poetic art for so noble a purpose.

THE DEFECTS OF BEDIL'S STYLE:

In spite of its good qualities Bedil's style has some drawbacks also. 'Allāma Shibli has bitterly criticised Bedil's style. He observes:

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1. Iqbāl, Lahore, Quarterly, April 1958, p.83.

" ..... Indian poets like Bedil and Nāṣir 'Ali are the swimmers in this whirlpool of florid and flowery style."[1] (خیال بندی، مضمون آفرینی و رنگینی). Edward Browne has repeated Shibli's[2] other remarks on Bedil's style as follows:-

"This was the the first step in bad taste, which, finally established a high road, so that in time people came to bow down before the poetry of Nāṣir 'Ali, Bedil and Shaukat of Bukhara. The" edifice of wrongdoing was at first small in the world, but whosoever came added thereunto."[3]

Shibli further remarks: "The vogue of writing a flowery and florid style (خیال بندی، مضمون آفرینی و رنگینی) had forced poets to neglect the language and the proper use of idioms. Hence Nāṣir 'Ali, Ghani and Bedil indulged in such things with the result that the charm and grace of the language were lost."[4]

According to Shaikh Muḥammad Ikrām,[5] Bedil's style has analogy and subtlety of thought which were the outstanding qualities of Ghani of Kashmir and Nāṣir 'Ali

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1. She'rul -'Ajam, Part III, p.21.
2. ibid, p. 198.
3. Literary History of Persia, Vol.III, p.267.
* " بنیاد ظلم اندر جہان اوّل اندک بودہ است و ہر کس کہ آمد بر آن مزید کرد "
(Gulistān-e-Sa'di (Nawal Kishore Ed). p.55.
4. She'rul-'Ajam, Part III, p.227.
5. Armughān-e-Pāk (4th Edition) p. 73-4.

respectively. But he holds that Bedil promoted artificiality and obscurity (ابہام و غرابت نگاری) which were the peculiar characteristics of the poets of the later Mughal period.

Abul Kalām Āzād[1] says that it is just possible that some may find Bedil's delicacy and subtlety of thought uninteresting or dull.

Brijmohan Dattātreya 'Kaifi',[2] while commenting on the style of Ghālib and Iqbāl, bitterly criticises Bedil and says that his style which is very ornate and flowery, has adversely affected Ghālib and Iqbāl.

Masihuzzamān writes: "Bedil's Persian poetry is intricate. It is an attempt to express a simple idea by turning it into a riddle. It is nothing but a device to make a thought obscure or subtle by calling it 'flight of imagination.'"[3]

Thus till the age of Ghālib two types of styles were in vogue in Persian poetry in India—one was that of Nazīri and 'Urfi, which continued since the Emperor Akbar's reign and the second one that of Bedil which became popular during the reign of 'Ālamgir and ended with 'Alwi and Ṣahbāi.[4]

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1. Ghubār-e-Khāṭir, (Lahore Edition) p.41.
2. Kaifiya, pp. 231 and 233.
3. 'Ājkal' Monthly, Delhi, Feb. 1959, p.24.
4. Muqaddama-e-Sha'ro-Shā'iri, p.379.

With regard to the style of Bedil the following seems to be a reasonable view to hold:

Bedil's style contains all the requisites of good poetry. But Bedil does not seem bound by the artificial and traditional rules of poetry. His forceful genius regarding good art rushes onward like a powerful flood. Moreover his experiences of life are also fresh and original. That is why his style, too, overflows with freshness and sweetness of language as, for example, in the following lines:

ستم ست اگر هوست کشد که به سیر سرو و سمن درآ
تو ز غنچه کم ندمیده دل کشا بچمن درآ

همه عمر با تو قدح زدیم و نرفت رنج خمار ما
چه قیامتی که نمی رسی ز کنار ما بکنار ما

نشاط اینجا، بهار اینجا، بهشت اینجا، نگار اینجا - تو خود گر غافلی صرف عدم کن دو بینی را
اگر از دیر و اگشتیم شوق کعبه پیش آمد - نگاهی نفس یارب کجاها می برد ما را

بیدل اگر آگه شوی از درد محبت - یک زخم بصد صبح تبسم نفروشی

Examples could easily be multiplied, but it is not possible to do so here, nor is this the proper place for lengthy quotations.

Bedil is beyond doubt an adventurous experimenter and originator of new phrases and styles. Although Bedil's poetry was

regarded to be 'out of tune' in his time by people, Bedil infuses new life and charm into ordinary words by means of his creative power of imagination. There is surely no limit to Bedil's infinite variety which "age cannot wither nor custom stale". He has such command over language as to enable him to express any thought or emotion in poetry. Bedil fully realises the relation existing between thought and expression. He always uses apt metaphors and suitable similes in view of the principle of his style. His selection of metres is quite natural. Bedil's sincere and faithful style made him so exalted in Persian poetry that great poets like Ghālib and Iqbāl have paid their tribute to him.

Bedil's style derives individual force and vigour from his firm convictions and handling of a noble theme. In addition to this, Bedil's personal moral qualities also had influenced his style. According to him, style is that form which suits his ideas.

The writer of this thesis concurs with Shaikh Muḥammad Ikrām that Bedil, no doubt, promoted the artificial and obscure style which was in vogue, and popular also during the later Moghal period. Though Bedil's delicacy and subtlety of thought are sometimes dull, his couplets composed in simple style are very fluent and attractive as may be seen from the following random selections:

فطرت آئینه دارِ راز کُنید ـ سیرِ وَحدت جلوه چشم باز کُنید

زین تماشا عنان نگردانی ـ بیدل آخر تو نیز انسانی

در محبت جنون هم آداب ست ـ لیک چشمِ غرور در خواب ست

زمن عمر لیست می گردد جُدا دِل ـ ندانم باکه گردید آشنا دِل

زندگی در گردنم اُفتاد بیدل چاره نیست ـ شاد باید زیستن ناشاد باید زیستن

ما بزورِ می پرستی زندگانی می کُنیم ـ چون حبابِ می بنای ما ست سر تا پا شراب

چه پُرسی زمن لذتِ جلوه بیدل؟ ـ که در بیخودی جلوهٔ دیده بودم

آتشِ افسرده را پروازِ اوج شعله کُو؟ ـ نشئهٔ می کی بُود چون فطرت بیدل بلند؟

بیدل اگر نه طبعِ تُو مشاطگی کُند ـ آئینه دارِ شاهدِ معنی بیانِ کیست؟

علاجِ زخمِ دل از گریه کی ممکن بود بیدل ـ به شبنم بخیه نتوان کرد چاکِ دامنِ گُل را

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C H A P T E R - IX

BEDIL'S RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK AND PHILOSOPHY

From the very childhood Bedil was fond of amulets, charms, pendants and prayers. He sought out people well-versed in mystical practices and in preparation of charms and amulets, and in the course of conversation with them he became familiar with the main principles of Sufism. Traditionally Bedil's family followed the Qādria Doctrine, but so far as Bedil's own learning and knowledge are concerned he seems to be dominated by Naqshbandiya order and Mujaddid School of thought.[1] He has discussed various points pertaining to these orders in his prose and verse compositions and they deal with Apprentism, self-annihilation (فنا) names and attributes of the Supreme Being (اسماوصفات), independence, celibacy and lack of determination.

In Bedil's opinion[2] Religion is the path and not the destination, only a means and not the end. He observes also that various tyrannies and oppressions are perpetrated under the garb of religion. Jealousy and bigotry are allowed to flourish. People who are of independent nature do not care for religious restrictions, but are sincere followers of the inner meaning, the spirit of religion:

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1. Hairat Zār, p. 49.
2. She'rul-'Ajam fil Hind, p. 142-43.

حد تا کی تعصب چند گر در دِ دلی داری
نیازِ زاہدانِ بے خبر کُن دردِ دینی را

(How long O man, will you cherish jealousy and narrow-mindedness? If you have a feeling of love, leave religious pursuits to the pious).

Bedil believes in Wahdad-e-Wujūd[1] (Unityism or 'Pantheism'). According to this principle, the whole world is the ẓill (ظل) or adumbration of God. i.e. God exists. He is immanent in man and the world. His relation with the world is that of identity.

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1. i) " ہمہ اوست " This means 'Everything that exists is a part and parcel of God' ------ everything separately is not God and cannot have all the attributes of God" (God, Soul & Universe in Science and Islam, p. 83)

ii) "Wahdad-i-Wujūd or Tawhid-i-Wajūdi is unit of Being. It is the doctrine of very many mystics in Islam. The exact equivalent would be Unityism - - - that the existent is one. This soon becomes identism - that it is identical with every thing else, which in the end passes on to pantheism, - - - that it is God and God is all. It is also called Wujudiyyat." (Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, p. 3).

"This doctrine (of Wahadat-al-Wajud) led one to believe in God as immanent and regarded the whole world merely as an emanation. Thus a pantheistic deity was substituted for the personal and transcendent God of Islam. The system of Sufism built on the basis of Wahadat.al-Wajud, led groups of Islamic peoples to spurn a life of activity and exertion. Ideas based on this doctrine sapped the energies of the people. They encouraged men to run away from the difficulties of life instead of grappling with them, and engendered a feeling of other-worldliness which led people to take delight in spending all their time in thinking of the joys of Nirvana. Life came to be regarded as a mere illusion, and nothing in life seemed worth striving for."
(Introduction to Iqbāl, p. 68).

عالم همه یک جلوهٔ ذاتِ احداست ـ این خانه هیولی است نه صورت جداست
کثرت از چشم واکردنِ ماست ـ این صغر چون محو شد همان یک عدد است[1]

ببیدل آن گوهرِ نایاب سُراغ ـ به محیطی است که پرسیدن نیست
عکس افتاده در آئینهٔ هوش ـ گُل توان گفت ولی چیدن نیست[2]

(O Bedil that untraceable pearl is lying at the bottom of the unfathomable ocean. Its image is reflected in the mirror of Reason (آئینهٔ هوش). One can call it a rose, but it cannot be plucked).

Bedil[3] had belief in the next world, resurrection, (assembling and reviving حشر و نشر), Heaven and Hell. He interprets the Qurānic terms as he understands them. He believed in life-after-death also. He differs from the traditional interpretations on minor points only and, therefore, he cannot be expelled from Islamic fraternity merely on this ground.

Bedil holds that every faith is like a branch connected, through the stem, with the root.[4] Followers of different faiths sometimes forget the root which is invisible and imperceptible. They pay attention only to the branch which is perceptible. Naturally they become foes of one another.

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1. Diwān-e- Bedil, (Maṭba-'e-Ḥasani, Bombay, pp. 358-59)
2. Bedil, p. 437 and Chahār 'Unsur, p. 296.
3. Bedil, p. 346-47.
4. Bedil, p. 407.

He does not believe in the rebirth of Messiah or Mahdi, —

بازآمدنِ مسیح و مہدی اینجا ـ از تجسسِ مزاجِ اعیان دوراست[1]

(The return of any Messiah or Mahdi to this world is beyond the scope of the Principle of Creation itself). Commenting on the views and religious decrees of Qāẓi Jamāl, Bedil says:-

"The dictates of religion are subject to the circumstances and conditions which are ever-changing, no matter if they are internal or external. Hence religious decrees should be adapted accordingly and new laws of religion should be framed to suit the new conditions i.e. we should change our attitudes to suit the external conditions and circumstances without compromising the principles of religion. Qāẓi Jamāl (قاضی جمال*) could not properly understand the concept of God or Truth:

حق را قاضی جمال نتوان فہمید[2]"

Bedil scoffs at the superstitions of the followers of different religions. He condemns pilgrimages to the

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1. Bedil, p. 321.
2. ibid, p. 323.

* Qāẓi Jamāl is a well-known personality of the Emperor Akbar's reign. His full name was Shaikh Faẓlullāh alias Qāẓi Shaikh Jamāluddin Jamāl of Delhi. He belonged to Kumboh community. He was a judge (Qāẓi) in Delhi. He had performed a pilgrimage to Mecca, and had contact with the most learned men and the philosophers of his time. For instance, he had friendly relations with Mullā Jalāl Dawwāni, the author of the book called Akhlāq-e- Jalāli. (Bedil, pp. 274-99).

tombs and graves of the Saints and placing blind faith in the "spiritual master" (Pir).

Islam is the religion of men who are independent in spirit (اسلام مشرب آزادگان است).

Motherland, Nationality, religion and each and every tradition, custom or convention are open to reproach.[1] They are the inventions of the selfish, and a source of worry and anxiety. Wearing a beard, the turban and the gown, the rosary and the sacred thread indicating religious piety, stand rejected by Bedil who calls only 'Love' as the religion he professes as follows:-

بغیرِ عشق ندانیم هیچ آئینی ـ گزیده ایم چو پروانه سوختن مذهب[2]

(We know no law or creed except LOVE*, and we have preferred burning like the moth to be our religion; what he means is: 'and that is why we would prefer to burn ourselves for the sake of LOVE like the moth who burns itself for love of the candle').

1&2. Bedil, pp. 238, 398-99.

* Iqbāl says about love: "The word is used in a very wide sense and means the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideas, and the endeavour to realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved". (Secrets of the Self, introduction XXV).

Hindu philosophers regard this world as an illusion (मिथ्या), but Bedil on the contrary, from the material and the spiritual standpoints, considers it a great act of Nature, which has emerged as the origin of beauty and the nourisher of the world. Similarly, though Bedil had studied the theories and philosophy of Plato minutely, he did not consider the 'Ālam-e-A'yān* (the World of Essences) as a real thing in place of the 'Ālam-e-Imkān (the World of Possibility).[1]

(For Bedil's philosophy see Chapter VIII, p.386also).

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1. Nigār, Lucknow, July 1962, p.44.

* "A'yān is plural of 'Ain. It means essence in the terminology of Ibn 'Arabi. But essence can be conceived in two ways; either as the concept of the nature of a thing or as the nature of a thing itself. The latter is something which exists, and may rightly be called the existent nature of the thing. It is in this sense that Ibn 'Arabi uses the term A'yān."
(The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, p. 61.)

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A P P E N D I X - I

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تا لطافت بدل نمی جوشد ۔ معنی از لفظ چہرہ می پوشد

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صفتِ انبیا

انبیا نسخہ ہای اسرارند ۔ نکتہ ہا از زبانِ حق دارند

فطرتِ خلق نیست محرم شان ۔ عالمی دیگر است عالمِ شان

من این طائفہ عبارت از وست ۔ تو اگر گفتہ اند اشارت از وست

ہم وزیری ز سازشان جوشید ۔ کہ نشان داد و بی نشان بخشید

گفت و گوئی مقربانِ جلال ۔ نیست مفہوم دور گردِ خیال

آنکہ فہمید ہم از ایشان بود ۔ بوی گل را نفس ز خویشان بود

عالمی را ز فطرتِ خود کام ۔ وصل خون شد بحسرتِ پیغام

اصطلاحِ جہان بیرنگی ۔ فہمہا را فشردہ در تنگی

تا نگردد خیال ہا باریک ۔ دوری از حرفِ شان شود نزدیک

طالبی را کہ مقصد احرامیست ۔ قربِ تحقیق بعدِ خود کامیست

موشوای فکر در ادبگہِ راز ۔ تا کشی نقشی از خطِ اعجاز

رشتہ باید شدن گہر سفتن ۔ آہ اگر گل کنی اثر مفتنست

جرات ایجاد قرشی باست ۔ نالہ تا زکتر از خموشی ہاست

رشتہ داران راز خاموشند ۔ غنچہ ہا بوی گل در آغوشند

* * * * *

(ص ۲۷۳-۲۷۴)

صفتِ دل

ای که صیدِ فریبِ آب و گلی ۔ آب و گِل نیست در کمندِ دلی

شاخ و برگت زدانہ میجوشد ۔ دامنت از آشیانہ می جوشد

آنچہ بیرون نگندۂ ازدل ۔ کردۂ در تصوّرش منزل

این خیالِ دلست منزل نیست ۔ بحر کف ریختہ است ساحل نیست

بر ترو دل مخانمان زدہ است ۔ جوشِ مغزی بر استخوان زدہ است

صفتِ کرم پیلات دریاب ۔ کز غُبارِ دلت بروست نقاب

گردِ دل دستگاہِ تن شدہ است ۔ نفست حبتہ و کفن شدہ است

آفتابت در آستین خفتہ ۔ سیر بر تو دماغت آشفتہ

* * *

آنسوی چرخ اگر پر افشانی ۔ نیست ممکن ز دلِ برون رانی

ہر طرف میروی دل افتادہ است ۔ رفتن از خویش مشکل افتادہ است

* * *

با ہمہ صُلح جنگ ہا دارد ۔ دلِ بہانہ است رنگہا دارد

گر، بہ تنگی زند جہان گرہ است ۔ از زمین تا بآسمان گرہ است

ور بوسعت دہد شکوہ رواج ۔ چشمِ مُور از فلک ستاند باج

* * *

نہ فلک گردِ سرکشیدۂ او ۔ ہفت دریا نمی چکیدۂ او

(ص ۲۷۸ ـ ۲۷۹)

صبح بالِ ہوای مفتونش ۔ شام دودِ دماغِ مجنونش

* * *

ذرّہ تا عرش آگہی منزل ۔ سیرگاہِ وضوح و دقّتِ دل

ہمہ جا گرد میکند دلِ ما ۔ سخت بیطاقتست بسملِ ما

* * *

نہ عمارت نہ خانہ پرداز است ۔ دل قیامت بنای خود ساز است

* * *

گر نہ دل نقش بندِ این کج و راست ۔ در جہانِ خراب خانہ کجاست

بی تکلّف ہمہ مقیم دلیم ۔ جملہ محوِ اُمّیدِ وبیم دلیم

* * *

بیش ازین بر خیالِ پوچ مپیچ ۔ ہر دو عالم دلست و باقی ہیچ

خلوت و انجمن دل است اینجا ۔ فہم اسرار مشکلست اینجا

(ص ۲۸۰-۲۸۱)

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صفتِ تجارت

ہر کہ را مایہ وقفِ غارت نیست ۔ پیشۂ خوشتر از تجارت نیست

بتجارت اگر کمر بندیم ۔ بر مزاجِ فسردہ در بندیم

پیش گیریم وضعِ آزادی ۔ مُفت جہد است فرصتِ شادی

گاہ بندیم پل بدریا بار ۔ گاہ تیغ افگنیم بر کہسار

گہ بغرقِ چمن سحاب شویم ۔ گہ بویرانہ آفتاب شویم

بر بساطی کہ سایہ اندازیم ۔ دستگاہ بہار پردازیم

ہمہ جا از طبیعتِ آزاد ۔ برگ و سازِ طرب کنیم ایجاد

باچنین پیشۂ چمن پرداز ۔ عالمی را دہیم رونقِ ناز

(ص ۲۸۴)

* * * * *

نظامِ شمسی

مہر ہر صبح سر ز خواب کشد ۔ تا جہاں جامِ آب و تاب کشد

یک سحر گر تغافل آرا ید ۔ دورِ آفاق یاس پیما ید

یا دو روزش کسوف در گیرد ۔ دہر روزِ سیہ بر گیرد

ور نماید قمر بحکم قصور ۔ غرہ و سلخ مخروف دستور

طاقِ کون و مکان پذیرد خم ۔ ربطِ سال و زمان خورد برہم

آفتاب و مہ و نجوم و بروج ۔ ہر یکی راست صد نزول و عروج

گر تجاوز رود بہ ترتیبش ۔ نظم گیرد وداع ترکیبش

پر و خالی ز ساغرِ ادوار ۔ نیست یکدم معطّل از اطوار

(ص ۲۸۵ - ۲۸۶)

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صفتِ تاجر

اوّلین ساغری کہ از خطِ جہد ۔ بست با شاہ رسائی عہد

قلقلِ شیشہ اش بہ بزمِ شہود ۔ جرسِ کاروانِ تاجر بود

اگر این شیشہ کم کند تلقل ۔ بر شکست جہان زنند دہل

قولِ ایشان صداقتِ اخبار ۔ فعلِ یکسر مجرّب آثار

مخبرِ رازِ گرم و سردِ جہان ۔ چون سخن محرمِ ہزار زبان

ہر چہ در دیدہ ہا سیاہی کرد ۔ جہدِ تاجر بروشنی آورد

آنچہ خورد از غرائبیت در گوش ۔ غیر تاجر نداشت مژدہ فروش

بستہ از وا نمودِ شان بفیرق ۔ غرب آئینہ در مقابلِ شرق

ہند ازین قوم آگہی کوکب ۔ سبحہ گردانِ ریگِ برِ عرب

روم ازین فقرۂ چمن تقریر ۔ گرم سیرِ طراوتِ کشمیر

زین علوم آگہانِ مکتب دید ۔ چہ گمانہا کہ بر یقین نہ تنید

جہلِ ہر علم سہلِ فطرتِ شان ۔ حلِ ہر عقدہ وقفِ سمتِ شان

(ص ۲۹۱)

* * *

صفتِ جوگیان

جمعی از اہلِ مشربِ تحقیق ۔ نشۂ پیمای ساغرِ توفیق

بستہ شوقِ موافقت آہنگ ۔ زورقِ ربطشان بساحلِ گنگ

یکطرف جوگیانِ سودائی ۔ کوفِ دریای بی سر و پائی

مژہ بالستہ و کشودہ نظر ۔ چون شرار از کمینِ خاکستر

در نفس برقِ نالۂ ناقوس ۔ شمع پیدا فتیلہ نامحسوس

فوجِ سنیاسیان بسمتِ دگر ۔ علم آرای عرصۂ محشر

دود بر چتر شعلہ پیچیدہ ۔ پرچم ایجادِ موی ژولیدہ

سیلِ طوفان خرامِ بی سر و بن ۔ موج خیزِ بلندیٔ ناخن

بستہ پیراگیانِ شعلہ نوا ۔ قفسِ بلبلان بدوشِ ہوا

موبمو پرفشانِ شوقِ حضور ۔ نغمہ پردازِ ساز و برگِ سرور

صندل جبہہ گردِ وجد و سماع ۔ تشنہ انگشت زینہار صداع

برہمن از کشودنِ زنّار ۔ کمرِ موج کردہ تل بکنار

تاکہ دارد باین کمر بستن ۔ چون گہر از غمِ طلاب رستن

(ص ۲۹۲-۲۹۳)

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صفتِ مرگ

این کہ بیرونِ بحر جا داریم ۔ در دہانِ نہنگ پا داریم

گرچہ عزلت حصارِ آفتہاست ۔ جای ایمن شدن ز مرگ کجاست

خواہ در بحر و خواہ در ساحل ۔ نیست مردن ز زندگی غافل

آن یکی از محیط بیرون تاخت ۔ وحشتش رخت بر کنار انداخت

خورد چاہی بلغزشِ پایش ۔ بُرد ساحل بقعرِ دریایش

کام ناکامیست باید مرد ۔ آنکہ آبش نبرد خاکش خورد

اگر انجامِ کار در نظر است ۔ خاک با گورِ پُر قریب تر است

گاو جست از شکنجۂ قصّاب ۔ شد بصحرا ز دیدہ ہا نایاب

شیر ناگاہ حلقِ او افشرد ۔ از اجل ہر کس اینچنین جان برد

بس بہر رنگ تشنۂ خلیم ۔ ہر کجائیم طعمۂ اجلیم

(ص ۲۹۶)

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صفتِ جنون

آدمی تا نفس زدن دارد ۔ در جنون هم هزار فن دارد

در تہِ آب اگر شود راہی ۔ محمل آراید از پرِ ماہی

در رہِ دشت آتشین گیرد ۔ صد سمندر بزیرِ زین گیرد

عزمِ کارت درست می باید ۔ ورنہ کو مشکلی کہ نگشاید

مشورت کارہا بسامان کرد ۔ آنچہ دشوار بود آسان کرد

ہمت آندم کہ بست با ہم عہد ۔ مایہ برداشتند در خورِ جہد

بر تجارت قرار در دادند ۔ دادِ جمعیتِ سفر دادند

کشتیٔ را سبک عنان کردند ۔ محملِ آرزو روان کردند

ہمہ را کرد حیرتِ نگہ لو ۔ چون اشارت مقیمِ آن ابرو

خمِ تسلیم و صد جنون آمال ۔ یکسرِ زانو و ہزار خیال

گوشہ گیری برہنہ پائی کرد ۔ شد کمان تیر و پرکشائی کرد

(ص ۲۹۱)

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صفتِ شہر

شہری از عافیت سوادیہا ۔ مجمعِ اتفاق شادیہا

باغِ خلد از سوادِ او گلچین ۔ دلِ صافش از غبارش آئینہ بین

از عمارات آگہی آثار ۔ سایہ یکسر بنور ہم دیوار

در و بام از صفای عالمتاب ۔ شستہ رو تر ز ماہتاب در آب

بفروغِ مدارجِ طرلبش ۔ چہرۂ صبح شستہ کرد شبش ؎
ساکنانِ وفاقِ آن منزل ۔ ہمہ آسودہ چون یقین در دل ؎
(ص ۳۰۲)

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صفتِ کوہ

فی الحقیقت بہر کجا کوہی است ۔ یادگارِ مزارِ انبوہی است ؎
سنگہائی کہ دارد این کہسار ۔ نیست جز نقشِ لوحہای مزار
زینہمہ کوہ یک فغان دریاب ۔ نالہ بشنو خروشِ شان دریاب
ہر کجا میکنی بلند آواز ۔ از عدم جملہ میدہند آواز
یاسِ شان بسکہ نوحہ پرداز است ۔ یکصد صد ہزار آواز است
(ص ۳۲۲)

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معنیٔ خلد و دوزخ

خلد و دوزخ کجاست چشم بکال ۔ جز حصولِ نتائجِ اعمال ؎
عملِ نیک ہر قدر کاری ۔ ہمہ فردوس باری آری
ہر کجا فعلِ زشت استاد است ۔ بی تکلف جہنم آباد است
این دو کیفیت از جہانِ قدیم ۔ تو بر آوردۂ بخلد و جحیم
ورنہ آنجا عقاب و ذلت نیست ۔ حرفِ شر در کتابِ رحمت نیست
(ص ۳۳۵-۳۳۶)

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صفتِ انسان

آدمی زاد نخلِ علم نماست ۔ کاین صور اعتبارِ علمی اوست
آنچہ زین نخل میرسد بہ ثمر ۔ میدہد از بہارِ علم خبر

گر بصیرت است فطرتش بیناست ۔ ور کلیم اصطلاحِ او گویاست

قدرش از علم برتری ایجاد ۔ ذاتش از معرفت سری بُنیاد

صورتش خسروی علوم کُلاہ ۔ معنیٔ اوجمی کمالِ سپاہ

مکتبِ ارض را مدرّسِ حِلم ۔ کُرۂ چرخ را مُہندسِ علم

مصدرِ نشاۂ عقول و نفوس ۔ رمزِ معقول و جوہرِ محسوس

نورِ اسرارِ خالقِ اشیا ۔ شخصِ تحقیق علّم الاسماء

چہ معمّا کہ فطرتش ننگاشت ۔ چہ غوامض کزو ظہور نیافت

ہیچ نقشی نہ بست کلکِ خیال ۔ کہ ز علمش نداشت رنگِ جمال

موجدِ حرف و نقشِ این دفتر ۔ نتوان یافت غیرِ صُنعِ بشر

(ص ۳۵۶)

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صفتِ علم

ہر کہ شمعش ز علم در گیرد ۔ تا ابد داغِ مرگ نپذیرد

پرتوِ علم دُور باش فناست ۔ صبح تا روشنست شام کجاست

پس ہمان علم گشت تا محشر ۔ زندگی بخشِ نامِ اسکندر

وز ہمین علم در نہایتِ کار ۔ باز شُد عقدہ ہای آن تجّار

کز کتابِ سلف باین فرہنگ ۔ گشت معلوم شان حقیقتِ گنگ

گر نمیکرد علم پردہ دری ۔ جست وجو یاوہ بُود و جہد تری

(ص ۳۷۲)

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حُسنِ معنی ز لفظ جلوہ گر است ۔ نغمہ در خورد ساز پردہ دَر است

اُمّہاتِ صفات و اسمائے ۔ دارَد اینجا بپردہ پیدائی

از علیم و بصیر و حیّ و سمیع ۔ نیست محرم مگر شعورِ بدیع

در کلیم و مرید و حکمِ قدیر ۔ عقلِ تام است مُشعرِ تعبیر

* * *

* رُوح و جسم ——— (ص ۳۷۹)

روح جائی کہ پرکشا نشود ۔ جسم باحرکت آشنا نشود

تا فت بر خویش علم و حیران ماند ۔ چہ سبق بود کز گریبان خواند

آنہوا کاین زمان خفا دارد ۔ نبضِ اینجملہ علمہا دارد

بر خیالاتِ نور و نار مپیچ ۔ مُدرک اینجا ہواست دیگر ہیچ

* نبات ——— * * * (ص ۳۸۱)

حکمت ایجادِ عالم من و ما ۔ یعنی آن جوہرِ لطیف ہوا

دم دیگر نفس بقدرت راند ۔ صبح ہنگامۂ نبات دماند

شوق گردید آبیارِ نمو ۔ موج زد بحرِ بے کنار نمو

حکمِ اسما درین تجلّی زار ۔ داد بیش از جماد عرضِ بخار

ضبطِ انفاس بالِ جہد کشاد ۔ شوخیٔ رنگ و بو برون اُفتاد

گرمیٔ سعیِ آن بخار کنون ۔ خواند بر شعلۂ صعود فسون

خامۂ فطرت یقین تقریر ۔ کرد روحِ نباتیش تحریر

(ص ۳۸۶) * * * *

* پنجۂ مریم ——

تا ز رمزِ حیا شوی محرم ۔ مگذر از فہمِ پنجۂ مریم
کان تجرّد نہالِ شرم نشان ۔ ہمہ چشم است و سر بسر مژگان
گر نظر سوئش افگنی از دور ۔ خویش را دزدد و کند مستور
برگ بر برگش از سایۂ اغیار ۔ چون مژہ بر گنہ تند ناچار
بیگمان معنیٔ بصیر اینجاست ۔ کہ سراپاش پردہ دارِ حیاست
(ص ۳۹۱-۳۹۲)

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* گل ——

نیست اینجا بفہم اجمالے ۔ ہیچ جزوِ زمین ز گل خالے
معنیٔ گل ز صورتِ اجزا ۔ دفترِ ناز میکند انشا
ہر قدر اعتبار جوش زند ۔ معتبر بر شکوہ دوش زند
حسن چندانکہ شوخیش پیرات ۔ غازہ سامانِ جوہرِ خویشت
ریشہ چون شاخ و برگ آمیش ۔ چتر بر سر نہد ز سایۂ خویش
(ص ۴۰۵)

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تناسخ ! ——

صد تناسخ زند مزاجِ حجر ۔ کہ فتد قرعہ اش بنامِ بشر
صد قیامت جنون عنان گردد ۔ کہ ز سنگ این شرر عیان گردد
تا تلی گہ کمالِ صور ۔ صد ہیولیست جیبِ حسرت در
سنگ گردد بدل بہ رنگِ نبات ۔ آرد آن رستہ بر حواس برات

باز گیرد حواس قوّتِ تمام ـ یابد آن ذی حیات انسان نام

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* راجونتی ـــــ (ص ۴۰۹)

یاد دارم که در نواحِ بہار ـ ہندوی بود عمدۂ تجّار

دُختری داشت راجونتی نام ـ ہفت سالش ز عُمر کردہ خرام

نیم شرم رضاعتش رُستہ ـ لب ز شیرش بتازگی شُستہ

کردہ بی امتیاز خوف و ہراس ـ خاکبازی ز گاہوارہ جُداش

بُود باقی ز پایہ ہای کمال ـ تا ببدرش ہنوز ہفت ہلال

نیم رُخ رنگ حُسنش آینہ دار ـ لیک مُستقبلش نگشتہ دوچار

* * *

* برہمن و مُسلمان ـــــ (ص ۴۲۱)

تا عقاید حجابِ علم دَرید ـ برہمن کعبہ را بخواب ندید

تا مسلمان مدارجِ دین خواند ـ بی نیاز از خیالِ کاسی ماند

قصصِ انبیائے فُرقانی ـ بیدیان راست محض نادانی

حالتِ دیوتائے شاستری ـ مُسلمین را گواہِ بیخبری

زین حقیقت بزُمرۂ اسلام ـ نرسانید پیکِ علم پیام

مَسخ در اُمّتِ محمد نیست ـ بزمِ مقبول جائے مرتد نیست

کان و ما جوہرِ کرم بُنیاد ـ ہمہ را وعدۂ قیامت داد

بر مُسلمان ز فکرِ دُور اندیش ـ اگر آید قیامت آید پیش

* * *

(ص ۴۲۸)

★کام دیو و مدن

کام دیو نام لعبت نیرنگ ـ داشت رقاصۂ طرب آہنگ
صد قیامت زشوخیش کرکے ـ صد بہار از گلش رہ آورد ے
در مقامی کہ رقص موزوں داشت ـ خیلِ طاؤس گردِ مجنوں داشت
جام دورش بحرکت ہموار ـ ہر کجا داشت گردشِ پرکار
خط ساغر ز رشک خوں بخورد ـ شعلہ جوالہ می شد و می مرد
گر بابرو شدی اشارہ نواز ـ در خمِ چنگ می خزید آواز
در بانگشت می نمود اشعار ـ آب می شد نوای موسیقار
عزمِ رقصش بقامت آرائی ـ ہر کجا کرد فتنہ پیمائی
گر غباری بلند شد زانجا ـ تا قیامت ندید جانب پا
نرگسش را بگردشِ انداز ـ دو جہان بسملِ محرّفِ ناز
تا بتابِ کمر شکست کلاہ ـ شورِ دلہا گسیخت رشتۂ آہ
بر فلک زان میانِ زنگلہ بند ـ وقفِ سیارہ رقصہای سپند
گر ز شوخی گلش عرق میکرد ـ زہرہ صد جا نقاب شق می کرد
از ہوس گر حنا بکف می بست ـ رنگِ گل بر صدائے دف می بست
بہ تبسم دمی کہ پان می خورد ـ نغمہ صد صبح در چمن می برد

تا صدایش فسونِ اثری گشت ۔ از عدم عمرِ رفتہ بر می گشت

حاصل الامر آن بہشت نمود ۔ ہر چہ بود آفتِ دو عالم بود

(ص ۴۴۳ - ۴۴۴)

* مدن ——

ہمچنان مطربِ مدن نامی ۔ سرخوشی نشاۂ طرب جامی

داشت در عالمِ سوادِ دگر ۔ کوسِ اقبالِ اشتہار ہنر

علم موسیقیش باوجِ کمال ۔ بدرِ سازش تہی ز نقصِ ہلال

جوشِ سیرابیِ رگِ سازش ۔ نشاۂ داشت وقفِ آوازش

کہ حریفانِ رنگ باختہ ہوش ۔ می فشردند می ز پنبۂ گوش

تحت و فوقِ جہان بم و زیرش ۔ کردہ صید کمندِ تسخیرش

در لبش لبکہ سحرِ مطلق داشت ۔ کلکِ تصویر بیخودی شق داشت

ہر کجا بزمِ نغمہ می آراست ۔ زندہ می مُرد و مُردہ بر میخاست

ترصدائیش تازدی بخروش ۔ لشنا میگذشت خلق از ہوش

(ص ۴۴۴)

* * * *

صفتِ عاشق ——

جانِ عاشق ز عالمِ جانست ۔ جنسِ عشق از دکانِ امکانیست

عاشقان مُردہ ماند و زندۂ دوست ۔ مُردہ و زندہ کارشان با اوست

زندگانرا فتور می باشد ۔ اجل از مُردہ دُور می باشد

(ص ۴۷۶)

* * * *

* صفتِ جنگ

غلغلِ کوس و کرنا و نفیر ـ صور را کرد نا اُمید صفیر
کینہ بست از تزلزلِ تنگ و تاز ـ کوہ را در ملاخنِ آواز
زان خروشی کہ داشت توپ و تفنگ ـ می پرید از رخِ قیامت رنگ
پیلبانِ عماری گردون ـ چون کجک می شد از ہراسِ نگون
بسکہ برداشت تیغِ فتنہ علم ـ التیام از مفاصلِ عالم
ربطِ اجزای دہرِ مطلق رفت ـ تا سمِ گاو در زمین شق رفت
گشت از برقِ صولتِ بیتاب ـ تا دلِ کوہ زہرہا ہمہ آب
سر زد از جوشِ زخم و خونِ روان ـ شورِ چندین تنور و یک طوفان
ایمنی کرد از طبایعِ رَم ـ شد سلامت غبارِ دشتِ عدم
رنگ در پروازِ گوی و چوگان شد ـ گوش و آوازِ پتک و سندان شد
طبعِ گردان زبانہ سر می داد ـ از مسامات چون دمِ حداد
پردلانرا در آن گذرگہِ تنگ ـ مغز می جست از استخوان چو تفنگ
از عمود گران نشست بہم ـ ناخن پا و ابروانِ توأم
از تنِ پہلوان دران زدوگیر ـ مرگ می چید موی سر ز خمیر
زیر و بم گم شد از ہجومِ خراش ـ سرِ مردان چو خامۂ نقاش

(ص ۴۸۳)

* * * * *

* صفت زر

زر محیطی است کز تموجِ او — می برد هر کس آبرو بسبو
(ص ۴۹۵)

چیست زر جوہرِ کمال و تمار — مستقل مثانتِ ادوار
(ص ۴۹۶)

زر چراغیست بی غشی روغن — بفروغ صفای دل روشن

ظاہر و باطنش بنورِ صفا — بی کدورت چو طینتِ عرفا

شعلۂ آرمیدۂ رنگش — نپسندد زخاشی ننگش

چرب نرمی همان فتیلۂ اوست — ببقای ابد وسیلۂ اوست

نور و قرنتائجِ افلاک — شمعِ تمکین فروغِ محفلِ خاک

غیرِ زر جوہری نمایان نیست — آنوی این کمال امکان نیست
(ص ۴۹۸)

* * * *

* صفت سفر

بسفر گر نگہ پرافشان نیست — خانۂ چشم غیرِ زندان نیست

نالہ مست اجابت از سفرات — تا مقیم دل است بی اثر است

قطرہ ہای کہ محرمِ گہر ند — از قبولِ تردّدِ سفر ند
(ص ۵۰۰)

* کیمیا

کیمیا با وجودِ نایابی — بسته بر خلق سیمابی

گرچہ زین نقد کیسہ ہا خالیست — ہمتِ کیمیاگران عالیست
(ص ۵۲۶)

در جہان کیمیا و عنقا کو — ور توان یافت فرصت اینجا کو

وصل عنقا گر فنا یابد ـ خاک اسرار کیمیا یابد ؏

* * *

* صفت سیمیا (ص ۵۲۷)

اگر اقبالی ارزو دارید ـ سیمیا را غنیمت انگارید

کاین بنا از تزلزل آزاد است ـ نقش این طاق از شکن ساده است

عالمی دارد این بنای کمال ـ بی نیاز از کمین دهر زوال

پادشاهیست بی غبار حشم ـ کامرانیست بی خمار الم ؏

از ازل تا ابد سواد خطش ـ نه فلک سطح هیئات نقطش

سیمیا در مراتب مقدور دارد انواع دستگاه ظهور

(ص ۵۲۷-۵۲۸)

بی غبار خیال وهم و گمان ـ نیست پوشیده از یقین نظران

که بدهر آنچه از خفی و جلی است ـ وضع نیرنگ سیمیا عملی است

از ازل این صفت نمودار است ـ سیمیای قدیم در کار است

(ص ۵۳۴-۵۳۵)

* * * * *

* جهان شهود

در جهان شهود و هم آثار ـ امر غیبی است تا ابد در کار

این او امر موکل اند همه ـ حکم اقبال شامل اند همه

نقش ما همچنان ز پرده راز ـ بخیالات میدهد آواز

گر جهولیم و گر خرد کاریم ـ یکقلم نقش سیمیا داریم

شش جهت حکم غیب قدرت راست ـ پس جهان غیر سیمیا چه بلاست ؏

(ص ۵۳۶-۵۳۷)

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*صفت درخت

ای تماشائی خزان و بہار — نزنی بر تغافل از اشجار
کاین وفا طینتان کریمانند — ابر رافت بہار احسانند
سبز بختی بوضح شان ممتاز — خرمی با ہوای شان گلباز
سیرگاہ غنا نشیمن وقر — کازۂ آرزوئی راحت فقر
ہمچو فضل حقیقت یکتا — شامل التفات شاہ و گدا
(ص ۵۳۸)
دست و پاشان اگر بہ تیشہ بند — غیر گردن بہ پیش کس ندہند
بہواداری ادای نیاز — برگہاشان دکان مرجباز
مرغزار وحوش سایہ گین — آشیان طیور امن گزین
دستگاہ طرب نوید ہمہ — مامن و مرجع امید ہمہ

*صفت نان * * * (ص ۵۳۹)

آدمی را بعالم امکان — نیست چیزی ضرورتر از نان
شخص ہستی اگر دکان دارد — مایہ از دستگاہ نان دارد
خواہ زر خواہ مال خواہی گنج — نان کل زندگیست باقی رنج
(ص ۵۵۱)
* * *

*صفت معراج فطرت آدم

چیست معراج فطرت آدم — معنی ایجادی وجود و عدم
صاحب نشاۂ بسیط شدن — بر ازل تا ابد محیط شدن
وز حصول احاطت اشیا — حکم کردن بہر ظہور و خفا

* * * *

صُنعِ سابق کہ اگر فہم رساست ۔ کیمیا جوہرِ اسرارِ غناست

۴۹۵ قصّۂ معجزۂ آن اُستاد ۔ کز فنا گنجِ بقا کرد ایجاد

۴۹۹ وصفِ کیمیت کہ کیفیّتِ آن ۔ فاعل افتادہ بطبعِ امکان

۵۱۸ مثلِ آنکہ بُود در ہمہ حال ۔ قطعِ سررشتۂ امّید مُحال

۵۲۱ وضعِ ثامن کہ بملکِ فرنگ ۔ سیمیا راست ہزار آئینہ رنگ

۵۲۶ ذکرِ آن شخص کہ از فطرت پست ۔ گنجش آمد بکف و داد از دست

۵۳۱ معنیٔ آنکہ درین حیرت زار ۔ سیمیاي ازلی کردہ بہار

۵۳۴ ذکرِ آنمرد کہ بی مایۂ سُود ۔ ساکن بندرِ بالیسر بُود

۵۳۷ ذکرِ آنمرد کہ در کالوطاق ۔ گشت با ہمسر کلفاندود محاق

۵۵۵ ذکرِ کیفیّتِ آن شمعِ حُضُور ۔ کہ چہ گل کردش از آئینۂ نُور

۵۵۷ نقشِ تاسیخ کہ ہر علم و فنون ۔ آمد از کارگہِ عقل برون

۵۶۴ ذکرِ آن برہمنِ طالب دید ۔ کہ تناسُخ زد و کنّاس دمید

۵۶۸ راجگی یافتنِ آن کنّاس ۔ باز تبدیلِ امیدش بایاس

۵۷۵ باقیٔ قصّۂ تمثالِ ظہور ۔ کہ چہ می تابد از آئینۂ نُور

۵۸۲ قصّۂ مُنکرِ معراجِ نبی ۔ کہ چہ پیش آمدش از طبعِ غبي

۵۹۰

جہد عاشر بر جُوعِ اشغال ۔ ختمِ جمعیّتِ تحصیلِ کمال ۱۰
معنیٔ نقص و کمالِ تحقیق ۔ کز چہ رنگست در افہامِ دقیق ۶۰۱
درسِ ارشادِ مہینِ اخوان ۔ کہ ز توفیق متابید عنان ۶۰۵
مَثَلِ قوّتِ فکرِ انسان ۔ کہ بُود امرِ مُحالش آسان ۶۰۸
گُلِ اسرارِ حقیقت چیدن ۔ صاحبِ نشاۂ کُل گردیدن ۶۱۲
ختمِ افسانۂ حیرت افسوں ۔ سجدۂ شُکرِ جنابِ بیچون ۶۱۶
(کتبۂ امانت) ۔۔۔ * * * * * * ۔۔۔ ۶۲۱

APPENDIX III

بسم اللہ الرحمٰن الرحیم

صرفتِ آدم

عشق از مشتِ خاکِ آدم ریخت ۔ آنقدر خون کہ رنگِ عالم ریخت ؎

چیست آدم تجلّیٔ ادراک ۔ یعنی آن فہمِ معنیٔ لولاک ؎

احدیّت بنای محکمِ او ۔ الف افتادہ علّتِ دمِ او ؎

دالِ او مغز اوّل و انجام ۔ کہ درو حدِّ وحدت است تمام ؎

میم آن ختمِ خلقتِ عالم ۔ این بود لفظ معنیٔ آدم ؎

قلزمِ کائنات و ہر چہ دروست ۔ جوشِ بیتابیٔ حقیقتِ اوست ؎

ظاہر و باطنش حدوث و قدم ۔ صورت و معنیش وجود و عدم ؎

ظاہر آن جلوہ کو دماند ہوس ۔ باطن آنجا کہ او شکست نفس

ہوسِ او ارادتِ بچون ۔ نفسِ او دلیلِ کُن فیکون

جوہرش معنیٔ عقول و نفوس ۔ عرضش رنگِ عالمِ محسوس

سازِ این ہفت پردہ را آواز ۔ بالِ این نہ تذرو را پرواز ؎

نوبہاری بعرضِ رنگ کمال ۔ گُل فروشِ تجدّد امثال ؎

رنگِ گُل کردہ اش جہانِ صفات ۔ بوی در پردہ اش حقیقتِ ذات ؎

باغِ تجدیدش از تلاطمِ رنگ ۔ بلبلِ ایجاد صد ہزار آہنگ ؎

فطرتش در تموجِ احوال ۔ خیلِ طاؤسِ مرغزارِ خیال ؎

حیرت آئینہ ہای صورت فہم ۔ نونگاہان رنگِ عالم وہم را

جبہۂ سودند درجنابِ رسول ۔ تا شود علم روح شان معقول

کین نمودار بی نشان چہ بلاست ۔ وین تماشای بیجہت زکجاست

آن کمالِ حقیقتِ آدم ۔ آبروی حقایقِ عالم

جوہرِ اعتبارِ غیب و شہود ۔ اصل کیفیتِ خفا و نمود

ذات بے پردۂ مدارج اسم ۔ روح گل کردۂ مراتب جسم

تا بعلم ازل تامّل کرد ۔ امرِ ربّی ز باطنش گل کرد

حاصل الامر آنکہ بے کم و کاست ۔ زین ہیولے صور فروشی ماست

چشم بر ہم زدنے غنودن اوست ۔ مژۂ باز بر کشودن اوست

(ص ۷)

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حکایتِ کودک و چاہ

کودکی نان بدست بازی داشت ۔ بر لبِ چاہ لابسازی داشت

رفت ناگاہ پنجہ اش بکشاد ۔ نان برنگ صدف در آب افتاد

گریہ بر داشت طفلِ بازی کوش ۔ اضطرابش گرفت در آغوش

داد چون موج دادِ نالیدن ۔ غوطہ زد چون گہر بغلطیدن

ہمچو اشکی کہ ازینِ مژہ ریخت ۔ در کنارِ پدر طپش انگیخت

چون پدر رمزِ اضطراب شنگفت ۔ کفِ خالیش جای نان دریافت

گفت نان از کفت که غارت کرد ۔ طفل سوی چپش اشارت کرد

مرد آشفت و رفت بر سرِ چاہ ۔ کرد از آشفتگی در آب نگاہ

تا تامل بطبعِ آب گماشت ۔ عکسِ آئینہ در مقابل داشت

بانگ بر عکس زد کہ ای ابلیس ۔ گر خوری بہ کہ نان باین تلبیس

شرم دار از خود ای خسیسِ دغل ۔ کہ ز اطفال نان بری بحیل

آب در خندہ آمد از لبِ چاہ ۔ کای ز خویشت بردی غیر نگاہ

از تو با تست التفات و عتاب ۔ ورنہ در آب نیست غیر از آب

طفلِ دزدت باین فسون پرداخت ۔ کہ ترا از تو در گمان انداخت

زین شعوری کہ در نظر داری ۔ ہر چہ گوئی بخود سزاواری

(ص ۱۳)

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صفتِ ہندوستان

ہند باغیست کز تصورِ او ۔ میرود آرزو بخلد فرو

آگہی را سوادِ او محک است ۔ شب نشین نگاہ مردمک است

از زمینش غبار اگر خیزد ۔ بر ہوا مشکِ سودہ میزد

از فضایش نسیم اگر بالد ۔ آسمان سینہ بر چمن مالد

کرده فیضِ بلوه صافی آب ـ شش جهت دریک آبگینه جناب
آنکه از آبِ او نمی دزدید ـ محملِ آبرو بابر کشید نه
هر کرا فیضِ زندگی هوس است ـ این هوا ذخیرهٔ نفس است
هر یک از ما درین چمن بنیاد ـ داد صد رنگ خرمیها داد
عالمی زین هوا بخود بالید ـ از تو رنگِ شگفتنی ندمید
(ص ۲۲)

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صفتِ نقشِ پا

هر چه دید و شنید ما باشد ـ نقشِ پا و صدای پا باشد
لبکه وحشت عنانِ ما دارد ـ نقشِ پا هم صدای پا دارد
زابتدا شو زانتها بشنو ـ نقشِ پا بین صدای پا بشنو
همه جا گرد رفته ها بنشاند ـ شش جهت یکصدای پا بلند
او جها جز غبارِ پستی نیست ـ نقشِ پا ئیست نقشِ هستی نیست
بهرِ تحقیقِ مخزنِ عالم ـ نسخه نیست به ز نقشِ قدم
نقشِ پا گر شود گریبانت ـ صرفِ هوشست سیرِ امکانت
نقشِ پائی که دیدهٔ بزمین ـ گرد بادیست رشته داده بچین
(ص ۳۳)

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صفتِ ہیولیٰ

اعتبارِ طبیعتِ بیرنگ ۔ از ہیولےٰ شُد اشتہار آہنگ

فکرِ ہر جا رُموزِ تخمِ شگافت ۔ جُز ہیولائی برگ و بار نیافت

برگ و بر نیز گاہِ پیدائی ۔ میکند تخم را ہیولائے

آب گاہِ لطافتست ہوا ۔ چون ہوا از فسردن آب نُما

جلوہ بر جلوہ آنچہ پیدا شُد ۔ این یکی صُورت آن ہیولا شُد

ہمہ آئینہ دارِ راز ہم اند ۔ معنی و لفظِ امتیاز ہسم اند

باطنِ این جا زشوقِ پیدائی ۔ زد درِ عرضہ ہیولائی

شوخیٔ جلوہ بر نتابد زد ۔ تا طبیعت درِ ہیولا زد

اسمِ آخر باشتہار آمد ۔ کہ ہیولیٰ بروئے کار آمد

اختتامِ مراتبِ اسرار ۔ ابتدای ارادتِ اظہار

معنی ہر چہ شُد ظہور آہنگ ۔ خواہ گُل خواہ غُنچہ خواہی رنگ

ختمِ سازِ لطافتست اینجا ۔ میلِ عرض کثافتست اینجا

صورِ جسمہای امکانی ۔ داد این آئینہ بجسمانی

نقشِ پیدا و آئینہ محجوب ۔ بخفا گشت ازین سبب منسوب

این ہیولیٰ نہ عرض و نہ جوہر است ۔ چون طبیعت وجودِ معقول است

(ص ۶۲-۶۳) ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

صفتِ علم

چیست علم اصلِ قدرت بیچون ۔ نظمِ جمعیتِ ظہور و بطون
حسنِ مرآتِ عالم و معلوم ۔ نورِ تمییزِ حاکم و محکوم
ہرچہ فہمیدۂ زپست و بلند ۔ علم آنجا رسانده است کمند
تانگیری زعلم خامہ بدست ۔ صورتِ ہیچ چیز نتوان بست
غیرِ علم آنچہ کرده اند رقم ۔ نیست جز جہل و جہل جملہ عدم
علم ہرجا کفیلِ تدبیر است ۔ غالبیت دلیلِ تاثیر است
گیرودارِ مراتبِ تہدید ۔ غیرِ اصلاحِ علم نہ پسندید
ہنر است آنچہ می پسندد علم ۔ مصلحت آنکہ کار بندد علم
خاصہ علمِ کمالِ ربِّ علیم ۔ کہ بما سجدہ میکند تعلیم

(ص ۸۱-۸۰)

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صفتِ اعتدال

نظمِ ترتیبِ مکتبِ اظہار ۔ میدہد ربطِ نسخۂ اسرار
کہ درین کارگاہِ رنگ نمود ۔ اعتدالیست انتظامِ وجود
حسن جز ربطِ آب و تابی نیست ۔ لعل جلوہ بجز سرابی نیست
این حنا اعتدالِ ترتیب است ۔ کہ بمان آب و رنگ ترکیبست
ہرچہ از طورِ اعتدال گذشت ۔ رنگش از حاصلِ کمال گذشت

چشم اگر از جبین بلند نشست ۔ اثرِ صورتِ قیامت بست

در کمر رفت از شکم برتر ۔ یا ز گردن فرو تر آمد سر

بینوا ماند پیکر از ترکیب ۔ نیست این نسخہ عافیت ترتیب

بم و زیری کہ جوہرِ ساز است ۔ اعتدالِ حساب آواز است

گر بم از اعتدال تافت بلند ۔ خارج آہنگ گیتی ہر زہ کمند

زیر تا اندکی فرو تر راند ۔ اثرِ نغمہ را بخاک نشاند

محفلِ رنگ و ربط قانونش ۔ بحسابیست وضعِ موزونش

چون بحکمِ حساب جمع شود ۔ شعلہ و موم و رشتہ شمع شود

(ص ۸۹) * * * * *

صفتِ سخن

ای چمن سازِ اعتبارِ سخن ۔ نغمہ صبحِ نوبہارِ سخن

بشہادتگہِ توی و منے ۔ سخن آوردۂ و خود سخنے

نغمی می زدی سخن گشتی ۔ بوی گل داشتی چمن گشتی

باغِ نیرنگیت بہرنگ رسید ۔ بسخن باید از خودت گل چید

گر نقابِ سخن شگافتۂ ۔ آنچہ در وہم نیست یافتۂ

جہلہا علم شد بنورِ سخن ۔ علم جہلست بی ظہورِ سخن

به تخیّل اگر خطاب کنند ـ ^ از سخن طوری انتخاب کنند

ور خموشی اشارتی دارد ـ سخن آنجا عبارتی دارد

از ازل تا ابد چه نو چه کهن ـ بود محکومِ اقتدارِ سخن (ص ۱۲۸)

زین تحیّر بهار گفت و شنید ـ بی سخن هیچ رنگ نتوان دید (ص ۱۳۰-۱۳۱)

تو سخن من سخن زمانه سخن ـ همه را علّت و بهانه سخن (ص ۱۳۳)

هر چه از عقل و نفس و جان و تنست ـ نیست چیزی دگر همین سخن ست

* * * * * (ص ۱۳۳)

صفت گلستان

جوشِ گلهای آب و رنگ نمو ـ زخم چندیست نا امیدِ رفو

باید اینجا نظر بمژگان دوخت ـ بر چنین جلوه چشم نتوان دوخت

غنچه ها از فشارِ سینهٔ تنگ ـ زده دستِ نفس بدامنِ رنگ

لاله ها عرضِ تیره رختی چند ـ خفته در خونِ سیاه بختی چند

سنبلستانِ تاب داده بهم ـ پرچمی چند خاک خورده علم

موی ماتم کشانِ رعنائیست ـ عبرت اینجا دلیلِ بینائیست

نتوان صحنِ گلستان فهمید ـ مرقدِ صد هزار رنگِ شهید

لاله زارت بچشم کرده غلو ـ سوخته نگاهِ یکجهان هندو

چیست آن سبزهٔ نشاط فروش ـ مژهٔ چند خواب در آغوش

لیک تا چشم میزنی بر هم ـ چون نگه برده اند سر بعدم

صفت فنا

ای جگر تشنۂ زلالِ بقا ۔ تا کی غافل از حضورِ فنا

کہ فنا اصلِ زندگانیہاست ۔ خاکِ تمہیدِ گلفشانیہاست

ببعدم زندگی پریشانیست ۔ دوری از آشیان پرافشانیست

گر نہ یادِ عدم بود مقصود ۔ بچہ امید زندہ باید بود

ہر کہ ترتیبِ محملی دارد ۔ بتمنّائے منزلی دارد

رہروانرا ز منزل آگاہی ۔ حافظ است از بلاء گمراہی

سفرت را کدام ساز و برگ ۔ کہ تو در منزلی بیابان مرگ

در عدم غفلت از عدم تا چند ۔ موج را از محیط رم تا چند

وہم ہستیت منتہم دارد ۔ ہستیت شیشہ در عدم دارد

* * * * * (ص ۱۷۳-۱۷۲)

صفت جہد

جہد برگز نمی شود پامال ۔ ریشہ از دویدنست نہال

در تلاش آئینہ بسنگ خورد ۔ بہ کز آسودگیش زنگ خورد

قطرہ کش جہد راہبر باشد ۔ چون بمنزل رسد گہر باشد

سیل تا دامنِ سفر برزد ۔ از گریبانِ بحر سر بر زد

در طلب گرہمہ ز پا افتی ۔ خوشتر از جادہ رہنما افتی

جہد عشاق وصل تسخیر است ۔ طپشِ موج امن تدبیر است

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صفتِ کنیز

پرتوِ حُسنِ ماہِ کنعانی - زدہ چون برق بر نیستانی

زہرہ از فسونِ چرخِ دورنگ - بکنیزی شکستہ گیسوی چنگ

لیلیٰ مستِ بے نقابیہا - آفتی تشنۂ خرابیہا

جلوہ مجنونِ حُسنِ لیلایش - شرم صد پردہ محملِ آرایش

بعرق طلعتی حیا توأم - صبحی آئینہ در کف از شبنم

از غبارِ خرامِ شوخیٔ ناز - موجِ گل تا فلک شفق پرداز

خندہ ہر گہ تبسمی می کاشت - شش جہت فیضِ صبحِ خرمن داشت

نگہی صد جنونِ شراب زدہ - عارضی صد بہارِ آب زدہ

کاکلِ از وضعِ سحر کاریہا - سبحہ در دستِ دل شماریہا

شوخیِ ابرو از فریبِ نیاز - خمِ طرفِ کلاہِ شعلۂ ناز

مژہ برگشتہ تا صفِ محشر - مدِ زلف از قیامت آشوبتر

چہ میانِ موی چشمِ بینائی - کلکِ تحریرِ ناتوانائی

چہ دہانِ عرضِ دستگاہِ عدم - چہ تبسم چراغِ راہِ عدم

تا لبش نقشِ در نظر می بست - آب می شد دل و گہر می بست

تا خیالش بہار می انگیخت - شمع بیشد نگاہ و گل میریخت

(ص ۲۲۲-۲۲۳)

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صفتِ عشق

عاشقی چیست داغِ محرومی — گلِ خود روی داغِ محرومی

یک قلم رنگ لیک باختنی — سر بسر دل ولی گداختنی

پنجہ ناامیدِ گیرائی — پیکرِ فرشِ ناتوانائی

لبِ عرضی کہ مُردہ گفتارش — پای شوقی کہ رفتہ رفتارش

ہمہ پرواز لیک ریختہ پر — شعلہ اما تمام خاکستر

جہدش انداز نارسائی وبس — شورش آہنگ بینوائی وبس

ناامیدی و یکجہانِ امید — ناتوانی و کوششِ جاوید

سازِ موہوم نغمہ زارِ خیال — کاکلِ تصویر آرزوی محال

دامِ خمیازہ صیدِ شدتِ ہوس — صبحِ تہمت شکارِ گردِ نفس

جوشِ خونی کہ ہیچ رنگش نیست — موجِ آبی کہ نم بچنگش نیست

آہ اگر گشت ہم بدل افسرد — اشک اگر بود بی چکیدن مُرد

قصہ کوتاہ عاشقی اینست — وای آنکس کہ عشق ازو آئینست

(ص ۲۲۵-۲۶)

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بیدلان سخت بینوا ماندند — بی نفس ہستی آشنا ماندند

در طرب زارِ عالمِ خم و پیچ — یک عرق خجلت اند باقی ہیچ

(ص ۲۴۴)

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صفتِ دہقان

درچمن زارِ اعتبارِ معاش ۔ کہ گلش خواہش است و ریشہ تلاش

گرچہ ہر کس گلی بسر دارد ۔ بذر گرنشاۂ دگر دارد

ہوش ہر جا شگافت مخزنِ حال ۔ این گہر بود دست رنج خیال

کہ جہان تا بہار سامانست ۔ سبز بختی نصیبِ دہقانست

بیخاری ز بادہ اش جوشیست ۔ وسعت از طبع موجش آغوشیست

کہ خدای طرب سرای ظہور ۔ میزبانِ بساطِ عجز و غرور

تندرستی رہینِ توشۂ او ۔ دل جمع التفات خوشۂ او

ملکِ درویش زلۂ طبقش ۔ گنجِ شاہی ذخیرۂ عرقش

حاصلِ مدّعای دشمن و دوست ۔ برگی از مزرعِ تردّد اوست

زندگی نسبتان عیال وَیند ۔ ناز پروردگان نہال وَیند

(ص ۲۴۶)

* * صفتِ دہقانی * *

خاکیان بہ کہ برزگر باشند ۔ تا باین پیشہ معتبر باشند

نیست شایانِ وضعِ انسانی ۔ حرفتی بہ ز کسبِ دہقانی

مشت خاکیم فخر ما اینست ۔ رنگ عجز از شکست گلچین است

خلق اگر آدم است و گر حیوان ۔ ہمہ جان میکنند از پئ نان

گر باین پیشہ سعیٔ مشتاقی ۔ آبیار بہار آفاقی

خُفته در شغلِ خاک باریها ـ دستگاهِ چمن طراز یها

لیک هرکس بکُنه این اسرار ـ از رهِ خودسری ندارد بار ۱

مانده خلقی ز طبعِ وهم اثر ـ گنج در زیرِ پا و خاک بسر

باید از فال زرع وکشت زدن ـ همه دم ساغرِ بهشت زدن

گُلِ فردوسِ بی خزان اینجاست ـ نخلِ طوبیٰ ثمرفشان اینجاست

(ص ۲۴۷) * * * * *

صفتِ بهشت

هرچه زین پرده میدهد آواز ـ برقِ فهمم آفتست و هوش گداز

خاصه شورِ بهشت و معرفتش ـ که تصوّر گُداخت از صفتش ۲

یعنی آن عالمِ تقدّس جوش ـ کز تخیّل کشوده است آغوش

نوبهاریست مُزدِ حُسنِ عمل ـ گُلشنی بی اثر ز رنگِ خلل ۴

لعل جوشیده از نقابِ گُلش ـ شُسته یاقوت رو بآبِ گُلش

پنجه در ریشه اش زده مرجان ـ داده الماس اشک گوهرفشان

شاخ موج زبرجدی جسته ـ برگ نقشِ زمرّدش بسته

نخلها جُمله سیم وزر دُربار ـ باریکه لآلیِ شهوار

(ص ۲۴۸) * * * * *

معنیِ دوزخ وبهشت اینجاست ـ استعارات برق وکشت اینجاست

* * * * *

(ص ۲۵۰)

قصّۂ آدم و گندم

آدم آن تخمِ مزرعِ امکان - ریشۂ داشت در ریاضِ جنان
نه دمیدن بصبحِ اظهارش - نه فسردن باشعلۂ کارش
کاشتن قابلِ درودن نه - باوجودِ نمو نمودن نه
بی اثر با خیال بیزد جوش - همچو فریاد در لبِ خاموش
گندمش ناگه آبیاری کرد - که لبشوخی زد و بهاری کرد
گشت آن گلشنِ تقدّس رنگ - بر هجوم بهار شوخی تنگ
پیچ و تابش درِ تامّل زد - فالِ معراج از تنزّل زد
جوشِ نشو و نما نگون بالید - ریشه ها تا بساطِ خاک دوید
آخر افتاد آن بهارفنون - چون نهال از طلسم دانه برون
چمنِ خلد و عالمِ رنگش - ماند بر صد هزار فرسنگش
ریشه هر جا عنانِ ضبط گسیخت - تخم زیرِ قدم چو آبله ریخت
ناله تا وحشتش رسا گردید - لبِ خاموش نقشِ پا گردید
چون درین تیره خاکدان افتاد - آفتابی ز آسمان افتاد

(ص ۲۵۳)

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روزگار لیست با هزار خروش - میخورد این نوا بپردۂ گوش
که ز نزهت سرای خلد برین - آدم آورد گندمش بزمین

میلِ آن دانہ رنگِ دامش ریخت ۔ موجِ آن بادہ خطِ جامش ریخت

وحشتش صد ہزار رنگ طپید ۔ چارہ غیر از شکستِ بال ندید

ساختِ ناچار با گرفتاری ۔ چون گہر زد بموجِ ہمواری

عاجزی رشتۂ تعلق کاشت ۔ تخمش آرائش قفس ہا داشت

* * * * *

(ص ۲۶۴)

صفت تامّل

چند باشید باگمان دمساز ۔ دہلی میدہد ز دور آواز

فطرت آئینہ دارِ راز کنید ۔ میرود جلوہ چشم باز کنید

تا بکی ہرزہ تازیٔ گفتار ۔ رخت بینش دہد بسیلِ غبار

تا کجا سحر جوشیٔ اوہام ۔ پختگی ریزد از تصورِ خام

گوش تا مرکز ہجوم صداست ۔ فرصتِ امتیازِ راز کجاست

یک تامّل صد اقفس باشید ۔ گرہ رشتۂ نفس باشید

کہ تامّل دلیلِ راہ بدی است ۔ قفل گشتن کلیدِ معنی ہاست

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(ص ۲۶۴-۲۶۵)

جہانِ لطیف

کیست زین خاکطیتانِ کثیف ۔ کہ شود محرمِ جہانِ لطیف

گوہر اندر محیط و ما کنار ۔ محو غوّاصیٔ ہجوم غبار

دل ازین نقش سخت بی خبر است ۔ ہمہ تن چشم لیک بی بصر است

بسم اللہ الرحمٰن الرحیم

عقل و حس سمع و بصر جان و جسد ۔ ہمہ عشقست ہو اللہ احد ۲

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[1] 'پروانہ' کے پیشِ نظر یہاں 'افسانہ' ہونا چاہئے۔ (امانت)
[2] یہاں بھی "سنگست" ہی چاہئے۔ (امانت)

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